

# THE MOSLEM WORLD

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VOL. XXV

January, 1935

No. 1

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## UNITARIANISM AND THE GOSPEL

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There seem to be two main currents of thought today among those who value the name of Christian. There is the tendency, which was prominent at the end of the nineteenth century, towards a spiritual interpretation of the universe, with a generally Christian view of the ultimate spiritual reality, but without acceptance of any specific revelation. Most Unitarianism shows this tendency. Its leading philosophical exponent in Great Britain was, perhaps, Professor Pringle Pattison. Great attention to the order of nature inclined men to a view of the Supreme Spirit as chiefly, if not solely immanent, in the world-process. The ultimate evil in which this tendency may involve itself is the treatment of God as adjectival to the world. Its general affinities are with Pantheism.

The other main tendency is specially associated with the name of Karl Barth, though others had made its chief principles familiar before Barth began to write, notably (in England) Fr. H. H. Kelly. This is a strong re-assertion of Divine Transcendence and strongly Trinitarian.

In view of the fact that some have suggested a similarity between modern Unitarianism and Islam, it is worth while to point out that in substance they are polar opposites, though in formula they are so closely alike. There is no prominent Unitarian who strongly affirms Transcendence. In that respect there is closer affinity between Mohammedans and Karl Barth. Indeed it is hard to see how on his own principles Karl Barth would answer a Moslem

who should say to him: "All your teaching about the Word of God is sublimely true; but you make a mistake in thinking that its chief or unique expression is through the Bible; its unique expression is the Koran." But Barthian teaching as a whole is safe from confusion with Mohammedanism because it is so definitely Trinitarian and so decisive in its emphasis on the absolute Deity of Jesus Christ.

In modern Unitarianism there is little or no stress on divine Transcendence, and Jesus Christ is presented as the Lord of Life for men because in Him the Spirit which is active everywhere finds its highest and fullest expression hitherto. Thus Christ is presented chiefly as the example of what the Divine Spirit is and of what man should be; our task is to follow that example, with the assurance that in doing so we are in harmony with, and can trust the support of, the Universal Spirit, because a life like His must be a life of conformity with that Spirit.

In such a view Original Sin is belittled, if not ignored or denied. It is suggested not only that a man can live like Jesus Christ if he will, but that he can will to do so. There is the stimulus of example, but not the deliverance of redemption.

Such a view coheres with the now obsolescent outlook of those who in study of the Bible or of the origins of the Christian religion are interested only in the question: What did men believe? what were men purposing? Books have been written on the origins and development of Christianity which are no more than a record of the opinions held about God by Jews and Christians of various dates. The most modern view—but it is not its modernity that gives it importance—has returned to what is plainly the standpoint of the Biblical writers themselves; for them the record is not primarily of human purposes and acts, but of divine acts and judgments. Jesus Christ is not presented as a man so wonderful that His disciples learned to call Him God, but as the Word of God made flesh; "and we beheld His glory." No doubt he lived as a man; and both Jews and disciples saw only human activities. But while that was so,

there was no Gospel of Christ, but only of the Kingdom. And this alone did not avail. It became the power of God unto salvation for those who not only heeded Christ's proclamation of the Kingdom, but worshipped Him as King.

The Nicene Fathers were not concerned to find a formula sufficiently honorific for one for whom they felt a reverence that passed into worship; they were concerned to protect that understanding of the Lord which was alone adequate to their experience of redemption wrought by and received from Him. There is nothing sacrosanct in the precise terminology which they found to hand and utilized. But the very heart of Christianity, as it has swayed men's souls in all generations of our era, is involved in the recognition of Christ as not only the example of sinless human life, but the redeemer of human life from sin.

In this the Nicene Fathers were true to the most primitive Gospel. The opening words of the earliest of our Gospels are these: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." There is no historical evidence whatever of a purely human Jesus whom His followers deified. The only historical evidence is of a life, human indeed, yet charged with divine authority and power. And the distinctive note of Christian experience, both Catholic and Evangelical, is the confidence or assurance of the soul conscious of its sin by reason of the redemptive act of God objectively wrought in Jesus Christ. This is what gives power and vitality to preaching. The beauty of a character so holy that some men call it divine has, no doubt, a true magnetism drawing men towards it from habits of life that are alien from it. But this alone is not redemptive. It is the love of God displayed in love's sacrifice, and the knowledge that communion with the Lord in whom it was displayed is possible here and always because He is the eternal God "in whom we live and move and have our being"—it is this which now, as ever, brings redemption. The power of the Gospel is indissolubly bound up with faith in the Deity of Christ.

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## PROGRESS IN THE STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN TEXT

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Perhaps it would be as well to begin with a word about the origins of the Plan. It grew out of a suggestion made to the writer in Madras many years ago by the late Canon Sell, that one of the most pressing needs of Islamic studies was a reliable critical Commentary on the Qur'ān. Orthodox Muslim Commentaries we have in great abundance, and both rival schools of the Ahmadiyya Movement have been busy providing us with apologetic Commentaries intended to make the Qur'ān more palatable to people with a Christian background. What we needed, however, was a critical Commentary which should embody the work done by modern Orientalists as well as apply the methods of modern critical research to the elucidation of the Qur'ān.

No great advance had been made, however, in the collection of material for such a Commentary, when it became evident that a necessary preliminary was a volume on the Theology of the Qur'ān, which would provide us with some account of the development of the teaching of the Qur'ān, and make possible a reliable scheme according to which would be arranged the masses of material that were available to be digested into the Commentary. Now no such volume existed, for Grimme's "System der Koranischen Theologie" in the second part of his *Mohammed* (Münster, 1895) was quite unsatisfactory, and Sacco's work *Le Credenze religiose di Maometto*, when it appeared (Rome, 1922), proved to be the work of a writer inadequately prepared for the task. It was necessary, therefore, to make an attempt to fill this need.

Here also it did not take long to discover that such a work could not be written until we had a satisfactory

Lexicon to the Qur'ān, such a Lexicon as the older Grimm-Thayer, or the more recent Milligan-Moulton Lexicon to the New Testament. In other words, no adequate examination had ever been made of the Qur'ānic vocabulary. Very little work at the native Commentaries is sufficient to demonstrate how much at sea they were with regard to much of the technical religious vocabulary of the Qur'ān, and how much more inclined they were to interpret the Qur'ānic verses in the light of the theological and juristic controversies of their own day, than to work back to discover the original meaning of the passages.<sup>1</sup> The native Lexicons are also as a rule far from helpful when it comes to Qur'ānic vocabulary, so that without an independent investigation it is almost impossible to know what exactly Muhammad meant by the terms he used. Before we can discuss the development of the theological ideas of the Qur'ān, therefore, we must make an exhaustive investigation of the vocabulary of the Qur'ān.

A preliminary study along this line was made by the writer in 1925-26 in a thesis on the Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān, which unfortunately, owing to the printing costs, it has not yet been possible to publish. This study took up all the technical and cultural terms in the Qur'ān of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Iranian and other origins, i. e., the non-Arabic element in the Qur'ānic vocabulary. It made clear, however, that before we can tackle the study of the Arabic element in any scientific manner, we must have a critical text of the Qur'ān. There is little use in making a Lexicon to the standard text of the Qur'ān when it is known that it is but one form of tradition as to the text, and that there are thousands and thousands of textual variants, many of them representing a much older type of text than the one we have in our hands.

It is an amazing fact that up to the present we have no critical text of the Qur'ān. What type of text it was that was published in 1530 or thereabouts at Venice by

<sup>1</sup> There is a damning indictment of the Commentaries from this point of view in the work of Muhammad Abu Zaid, *al-Hidāya wa'l-Irfān*, Cairo 1930, a work suppressed in Egypt by Government order. See the account by the present writer in *Der Islam* XX. Heft. 4.

Paganini Brixensis we cannot tell, as this first European edition of the text of the Qur'ān was entirely destroyed at the command of the Pope.<sup>2</sup> The editions of Abraham Hinckelmann in 1694<sup>3</sup> and Ludovico Marraccio in 1698<sup>4</sup> were monuments of industry at that date, but naturally not constructed on any critical basis. Flügel's edition of 1834,<sup>5</sup> which has been frequently reprinted, is still the text used by practically all Western scholars, but while it is a beautiful and carefully printed text, it is useless for critical purposes. It has no critical apparatus, but, worse than that, the text represents no consistent Oriental tradition either in orthography or reading, and if Flügel used some critical principle in constructing his text, no one to this day has been able to discover what it is.

Oriental lithographs of the Qur'ān are legion. The vast majority of them give with more or less accuracy the text-tradition of Ḥafṣ from 'Āṣim, i. e., the best known of the three traditions from the Kūfan School which may be said to represent the *textus receptus* in Islam. In North Africa the lithographs usually follow the text tradition of Warsh from Nāfi', i. e., the tradition of the Madīnan School. I have heard of Qur'āns written according to the text tradition of ad-Dūrī from Abū 'Amr, i. e., the tradition of the Baṣran School. This tradition used to be followed in the Sudān up to a generation ago,<sup>6</sup> but apparently no texts were ever lithographed according to this tradition. With the passage of time the lithographs of the Ḥafṣ text had become progressively normalized to the customary orthography of the day, and thus could not be said to represent that tradition accurately. In 1923, however, the Egyptian Government issued a Standard Edition under the editorship of a board of Muslim savants, and in this edition an attempt is made to reproduce as faithfully as possible the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Joh. Mich. Langii—*Dissertatio de Alcorani prima inter Europaeos editione Arabica, ante sesquiesaeculum et quod excuvit in Italia per Paganinum Brixiensem facta, sed iussu Pontificis Romani abolita, 1703*, and also Joh. Bern. de Rossi—*Der Corano arabico Venetiis Paganini typis impresso sub saec. XVI. dissertatio*. Parmae, 1806.

<sup>3</sup> *Alcoranus Muhammadis ad optimorum Codicum fidem edita*. Hamburg, 1694.

<sup>4</sup> *Alcoranus textus universus*, edidit Lud. Marraccio. Paduae, 1698.

<sup>5</sup> *Corani textus arabicus ad fidem librorum manu scriptorum et impressorum et ad praecipuorum interpretum lectiones et auctoritatem recensuit Gustavus Flügel*. Lipsiae, 1834.

<sup>6</sup> So I learned in conversation with Sheikhs in Omdurman. Now, under the influence of Egypt, the Muslim youth in school use and learn the common system of Ḥafṣ.

original Ḥafṣ tradition. Owing to the use of modern *qirā'āt* works instead of going back to the oldest sources of the tradition, the editors did not quite succeed in their endeavour, but their edition is nevertheless the nearest approach to a critical edition ever produced in the Orient.<sup>7</sup> It, however, contains no *apparatus criticus*. In some of the Ḳazān lithographs published in the middle of the last century there are given on the margin the variant readings of the Seven, and these appear also in certain Indian lithographs which are derived from the Ḳazān text. These readings, however, are given very imperfectly and frequently inaccurately. There appeared at Teheran in 1323 A. H. a lithograph giving a reproduction of a considerable portion of an old Kūfic text, along with the Ḥafṣ text, and on the margin a not always accurate attempt at reproducing the variants of the Seven.<sup>8</sup>

In brief outline, the history of the Qur'ān text is this. When Muḥammad died there was no collection of his revelations in any official form. It is possible that he meant to make such a collection to clear up finally what had been abrogated and what not, but he died before this was done. Portions of revelations had been written down during his lifetime by various persons in his community, portions had been memorized and indeed some portions had apparently been used liturgically in the community. After his death several of his followers made the attempt to collect all the known revelations and write them down in Codex form. Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai b. Ka'b, 'Alī, Abū Bakr, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Miqdād b. al-Aswad, etc., were known and referred to. With the spread of Islam and the founding of metropolitan centres, the necessity of having the Qur'ān in written form was urgent, and we find growing up what we may call Metropolitan Codices in the centres of Mecca, Madīna, Damascus, Kūfa and Baṣra.

As the differences between these various Codices threatened to become a scandal and a disrupting force with-

<sup>7</sup> Bergsträsser has given a full account of this edition in his article "Koranlesung in Kairo" in *Der Islam* XX (1932).

<sup>8</sup> I suspect that this also is dependent on the Ḳazān lithographs, but as no exemplar of these Ḳazān editions is available to me here in Cairo it is impossible to check this.

in Islam, the third Caliph 'Uthmān, made an attempt to canonize the Madīnan Codex. He had copies of this written out and sent to each of the Metropolitan centres, and ordered all other Codices to be burned. 'Uthmān seems to have been very successful in his destruction of the Codices, for all the old Kūfic MSS that have survived to us<sup>9</sup> apparently represent the same type of text with insignificant variants, which can usually be put down to the vagaries of the scribes. 'Uthmān's work was intended to standardize the consonantal text, yet for long after 'Uthmān's time there is evidence that variant traditions as to the consonantal text survived among the learned, and we can gather a great mass of material as to the readings in the text of Ubai or Ibn Mas'ūd.<sup>10</sup> As only one type of text continued to be copied, however, it is clear that only such readings from the older Codices as had some philological or theological interest would be likely to survive.<sup>11</sup>

This consonantal text, however, was unpointed. That is, there was nothing to distinguish a *b* from a *t*, a *th*, an *n* or a *y* at the beginning or middle of a word. Similarly *f* and *q*; *j*, *h* and *kh*; *ṣ* and *ḍ*; *r* and *z*; *s* and *sh*; *d* and *dh*; *ṭ* and *ẓ* were indistinguishable. Thus even in the 'Uthmanic standard text there was possible a great variety of variant readings according to the way in which the skeleton text was pointed. Besides this there was the vowelling, for even when the consonants (*hurūf*) were settled, they might be vowelled very differently. Thus there grew up in the different metropolitan centres what one might call schools of readers who developed variant traditions as to how the pointing and vowelling of the text should be done. It was generally the work of some great teacher, whose system was followed by generation after generation of pupils. Pupils were required to memorize two things—first a

<sup>9</sup> On Dr. Mingana's palimpsest find—*Leaves from Three Ancient Qur'āns possibly pre-Othmanic*, Cambridge, 1914, see Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qorantexts*, p. 97 ff.

<sup>10</sup> A preliminary collection of these was made by Bergsträsser in his *Geschichte des Qorantexts*, pp. 60-96, and a much larger collection has been made by the present writer to be published in the *JRAS*.

<sup>11</sup> Later orthodoxy made desperate efforts to obliterate the memory of even these readings, as we can see in the cases of Ibn Shanabūdh (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 302-304; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, III 16-18; Ibn al-Jazarī *Tabaqāt* No. 2707), and Ibn Muqsim (Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 499; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt* No. 2945; Miskawaihi, *Tajārib*, ed. Amedroz, I, 285.)

tradition as to the *hurūf* and then a tradition as to the vowelling. Of many authorities of the second and third Islamic centuries we read that so and so had an *ikhtiyār fi'l hurūf*, i. e., a tradition of his own as to what the *hurūf* should be.

The curious thing is that in many cases we find that this *ikhtiyār* does not confine itself to a choice among possible pointings of a standard consonantal text, but frequently represents a different consonantal text altogether. Sometimes this represents a correction of some mistake or inelegancy of the 'Uthmānic text,<sup>12</sup> but in the majority of cases suggests that in the different metropolitan centres some of the readings of the older Codices were strong enough to survive in the Schools alongside the 'Uthmānic readings. The authority of the standard text, however, naturally grew as standard texts always do,<sup>13</sup> and these variants from it came to be recorded merely as curiosities. Before the end of the third century it was to all intents and purposes fixed, and the main differences between the schools were in the matter of vowelling the consonantal texts.

Gradually these variations crystalized themselves into the traditions of the great Schools of Qur'ānic learning at Madīna, Mecca, Damascus, Baṣra and Kūfa. Ḥomṣ for a time seemed about to develop a school of its own, but it soon coalesced with that of Damascus. Later still, these traditions attached themselves to the names of certain famous teachers. In the year 322 A. H. the great Qur'ānic authority Ibn Mujāhid at Baghdad succeeded through his influence with the Wazīrs Ibn 'Isā and Ibn Muqlah in having an official fixing *ne varietur* of the permissible readings of the text. Not only was there a definite canonisation of one system of *hurūf* (supposedly the 'Uthmānic) with a prohibition of the use of any other *ikhtiyār*, but also a limiting of the variations in vowelling the text to the systems of the Seven.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bergsträsser. *Qorāntexts*. pp. 2, 3.

<sup>13</sup> We have an apt parallel in the enormous authority still exercised, particularly in orthodox circles, by the King James version of the Bible.

<sup>14</sup> This number Seven was connected with a well known tradition about the Qur'ān having been revealed according to seven *ahruf*, a tradition which itself had obviously been invented to explain the variant readings of the text known to exist.

The Seven chosen by Ibn Mujāhid were Nāfi' of Madīna († 169), Ibn Kathīr of Mecca († 120), Ibn 'Āmir of Damascus († 118), Abū 'Amr of Baṣra († 154), 'Āsim of Kūfa († 128), Ḥamza of Kūfa († 158) and Al-Kisā'i of Kūfa († 182). The curiosity in this list is in the choice of three readers from Kūfā. The choice of Al-Kisā'i seems to have been due to some personal predilection of Ibn Mujāhid. Al-Kisā'i had a great, though hardly deserved, reputation as a grammarian, but his Qur'ān readings in general follow those of Ḥamza, and where he differs from Ḥamza his variation is rarely of any importance. There was a considerable body of opinion that Ya'qūb of Baṣra († 205) ought to have been chosen in his place, while some were in favour of Khalaf of Kūfa († 229), or of Abū Ja'far of Madīna († 130). Thus in spite of Ibn Mujāhid there continued to be memorized and handed on the tradition as to the Ten. Besides these there survived, with varying degrees of authority, the traditions of Ibn Muḥaiṣin of Mecca († 123), al-Yazīdī of Baṣra († 202), al-Ḥasan of Baṣra († 110), and al-A'mash of Kūfa († 148), making the Fourteen.

We now have, then, two classes of variants to the Qur'ān text, the canonical, consisting of the variants of the Seven canonized by Ibn Mujāhid, and with lesser degree of authority those of the Ten, and uncanonical (technically known as *shazwādh*) consisting of all other variants,—those of the four who make up the Fourteen coming nearest to recognition as canonical. As was natural, we soon had differences of tradition within the Schools as to the readings of each of the Seven, but by the next century two lines from each of the Seven had been chosen as the orthodox tradition, and when the traditions came to be digested into book form only these two lines were given. Thus we have the system<sup>15</sup>—

Nāfi' of Madīna according to Warsh († 197) and Qālūn († 220).

Ibn Kathīr of Mecca according to Al-Bazzī († 270) and Qunbul († 280).

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that there is often wide difference of opinion as to the dates of some of these Readers.

Ibn 'Āmir of Damascus according to Hishām († 245) and Ibn Dhakwān († 242).

Abū 'Amr of Baṣra according to ad-Dūrī († 250) and as-Sūsī († 261).

'Āṣim of Kūfa according to Ḥafṣ († 190) and Abū Bakr († 194).

Ḥamza of Kūfa according to Khalaf († 229) and Khallād († 220).

Al-Kisā'ī of Kūfa according to ad-Dūrī († 250) and Abū'l-Hārith († 261).

Of these, as we have already indicated, only the systems of Warsh from Nāfi', of Ḥafṣ from 'Āṣim and of ad-Dūrī from Abū 'Amr, seem to have gained any wide acceptance, and for some reason which has not yet been fully elucidated, the system of Ḥafṣ quickly gained such an ascendancy over all the others as to have become the *textus receptus* of Islam, being used today everywhere except in the stretch of North Africa from Tripoli to Morocco.

Early in the fifth Islamic century the systems of the Seven were digested into book form. The outstanding work of this kind was the *Taisīr* of the Andalus scholar ad-Dānī († 444) who himself followed the system of Warsh. The *Taisīr* was versified by *ash-Shāṭibī*, († 590) in a work called *Hirz al-Amānī* (also commonly known as *Ash-Shāṭibīya*, which has been the subject of innumerable commentaries and is still the chief source used by Muslim savants in their studies of the Qur'ān text.

The task of preparing a critical edition of the Qur'ān, therefore, is two fold—first that of presenting some form of tradition as to the text itself, and secondly that of collecting and arranging all the information scattered over the whole domain of Arabic literature, concerning the variant readings both canonical and uncanonical. The writer had begun to collect variant readings years ago, when he first became interested in the Qur'ān, but in 1926 began the task of consistently working through all the Arabic Commentaries, Lexicons and philological works to collect the various readings recorded. That same year Professor Bergsträsser published the first fascicule of his *Geschichte des Qorantexts* and it was evident that our

studies were interlocking. We met at Munich in 1927, and agreed to collaborate on a much bigger plan of assembling all the material that would assist in some day making it possible to elucidate fully the history of the Qur'ān text. I was to go on with my task of collecting the variants and preparing an edition of the text, while Bergsträsser was to commence gathering material for an Archive of photographs of all the oldest Kūfic manuscripts of the Qur'ān, a collation of which he hoped would throw light on the history of the text. Then we were to pool our resources with a view to a large volume dealing with the variants.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile there remained much supplementary work to do. A large number of source books that we needed were still in manuscript, and some indeed had yet to be discovered. A pupil of Bergsträsser's, Dr. Otto Pretzl was at work already on a critical edition of the famous *Taisīr* of ad-Dānī, of which we possessed as yet only a very poor lithograph from Hyderabad. This *Taisīr* was published in the *Bibliotheca Islamica* in 1930,<sup>17</sup> followed in 1932 by an edition in the same series of the *Muqni'* of ad-Dānī,<sup>18</sup> both edited by Dr. Pretzl. Meanwhile at Damascus in 1927 had appeared the two large volumes of Ibn al-Jazarī's *Kitāb an-Nashr fī'l-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr*, so that we now had for the first time in our hands a sound basis for the study of the Seven and the Ten. That is, with regard to the canonical readings, we were now in a position to go back as near as we are ever likely to get to the original sources. In the winter of 1928 Professor Bergsträsser spent some months in Cairo and commenced the photographing of the Kūfic Codices preserved here. Also he was able to make considerable progress with the task of editing the text of Ibn Khālawaih's work on the uncanonical readings,<sup>19</sup> which we have reason to think represents Ibn Mujāhid's own teaching on this subject, as the *Taisīr* of ad-Dānī represents his teaching on the canonical variants. Also he

<sup>16</sup> Bergsträsser gave some account of this plan in a paper "Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Koran", published in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1930. Heft 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Das Lehrbuch der sieben Koranlesungen von ad-Dani*, Stanbul, 1930.

<sup>18</sup> *Orthographie und Punktierung des Koran, zwei Schriften von ad-Dani*, Stanbul, 1932.

<sup>19</sup> This also will appear in the *Bibliotheca Islamica* very shortly.

was able to extract from the MSS of the *Muḥtasab* of Ibn Jinnī, that important philologist's references to uncanonical variants.<sup>20</sup> Before returning to Germany he also made arrangements for a Cairo edition of the *Tabaqāt al-Qurrā'* of Ibn al-Jazarī, a large work giving biographies of all the early Qur'ānic authorities, and what is more important, the *isnāds* showing through what lines of tradition their readings reached them.

Another pupil of his, Dr. Eisen, was set to work on an edition of the *Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* of Abū 'Ubaid, which will be published shortly. Meanwhile the search for older sources went on. Following on Bergsträsser's discovery of the work of Ibn Khālawaih, the present writer has discovered two MSS of the lost *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd, and more recently has unearthed a beautiful complete MS of the *I'rāb al-Qirā'at ash-Shādhḍha* of al-'Ukbarī. In the autumn of 1930, Dr. Pretzl visited Stambul and carefully examined the many Libraries there, unearthing many MSS of great interest for the text history of the Qur'ān, and providing material for many years of work.<sup>21</sup> Other source material has also appeared in the Orient. In 1932 the firm of al-Ḥalabī in Cairo completed the printing of the Commentary of the Yemenite scholar ash-Shawkānī, which is very rich in uncanonical variants, and particularly useful because the author apparently had access to sources which are no longer available to us. Also the same firm published an edition of the famous old Commentary of Abū Shām on the *Shāṭibīya*, viz., *Ibrāz al-Ma'ānī min Ḥirz al-Amānī*, on the margin of which are two works by a living Qur'ānic scholar aḍ-Ḍabbā,<sup>22</sup> one a supercommentary to the *Shāṭibīya* and the other an explication of the readings of the three extra who make up the Ten. Bergsträsser, indeed was very hopeful of enlisting the interest of modern Muslim savants to

<sup>20</sup> The results appeared in an article "Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten in Muḥtasab des Ibn Ginnī" in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1932, Heft 7. The readings are given there in transcription. It is hoped that it will be possible to publish the whole Arabic text of the *Muḥtasab* some day.

<sup>21</sup> Full accounts of the manuscript material brought to light there are given in section four of his article "Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung" in *Islamica*, VI (1933-34).

<sup>22</sup> Bergsträsser has dealt with him and his writings in section three of his *Koranlesung in Kairo*.

publish a whole Corpus of *qirā'āt* works, at least of those which from their point of view would be considered orthodox. Cf. the *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, which is ad-Dānī's biggest work, the *Latā'if al-Ishārāt* of al-Qastallānī, the *Kitāb al-Ḥujja* of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, the *Kitāb at-Tajrid* of Ibn Faḥḥām, the *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* of al-Farrā', the *Sūq al-'Arūs* of Abū Ma'shar aṭ-Ṭabarī, etc., etc.

In the summer of 1933 while I was in Oxford, working in the Bodleian Library on one little item of our plan, Bergsträsser was lost in a mountaineering accident in the Bavarian Alps during his summer vacation. His death is a tremendous loss to Islamic studies in general, and to Qur'ānic studies the loss is irreparable. On my way back to Cairo in the winter I stopped at Munich to spend some time with Dr. Pretzl, who is at present carrying on Bergsträsser's work, and we have made the best arrangements we can for carrying out the Plan. Dr. Pretzl is finishing the third fascicule of the *Geschichte des Qoran-texts*. The edition of Ibn Khālawaih is finished, and my annotations thereto, which were originally to have been a "Nachtrag" to the volume, will now appear separately in one of the journals, possibly in *Islamica*. Dr. Pretzl will continue to gather the material for the Archive of Kūfic Codices and other material for the history of the text.<sup>23</sup> I shall produce the text with *apparatus criticus* and also attempt the volume of notes on the variant readings, though how this latter can ever be adequately done without the assistance of the massive learning and critical acumen of Professor Bergsträsser is more than I can see.

This, then, is how the plan stands. For the text it had been my original intention to commence with Flügel's text as a basis, and endeavour to reconstruct the earliest possible type of text. There were two strong objections, however, to this:—in the first place, by reason of the condition of the sources it would be largely a subjective piece of work, and thus perhaps not any better than Flügel, and secondly, it would be entirely unacceptable to Muslims. The only

<sup>23</sup> See his account of "Die Fortführung des Apparatus Criticus zum Koran" in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1934, Heft 5.

reasonable plan with regard to the text is to print consistently one type of Oriental tradition, and the obvious one among them is that of Ḥafṣ, which is so generally acclaimed as the *textus receptus*. This text will be constructed according to the oldest sources we have concerning the tradition of Ḥafṣ, but will be printed according to *saj'* and the Kūfan verse numbering, with Flügel's numbering, however, also given for convenience of reference. Pausal signs and the *ajzā'* will be noted, and on the margin a selection of marginal references such as those in a Reference Bible, which will facilitate reference to parallel passages.

At the foot of each page will be the *apparatus criticus*. All the thousands of variants gleaned from the Commentaries, Lexicons, works of traditionists, theologians, and philologers, and even from some of the Adab books, will be given with symbols indicating the Reader or Readers who are quoted for each variant. It is hoped by means of different types to indicate in these symbols whether the authority concerned is earlier than the canonical seven, of the circle of the canonical readers, or more recent. It may also be possible to arrange some symbolical way of indicating from which school or schools the reading in question comes. It cannot be hoped that this *apparatus criticus* will be complete, for one finds variant readings noted in the most unexpected places, and a complete collection would involve the superhuman task of combing through the whole of Arabic literature printed and unprinted. All the more important sources that are available, however, will be utilized.

To the text it is hoped that some day there will be a volume of Introduction, to provide for English readers what German readers already have in the second edition of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans*. It will certainly be accompanied by a volume of annotations, which will be in the nature of a commentary to the *apparatus criticus*. The bare citation of the reading with the symbol for the Reader in the *apparatus* will be sufficient for the Qur'ānic expert in

most cases, but the vast majority of students who use the *apparatus* will want more. It is for the purpose of explaining these readings, discussing the origins, provenance and signification, that the Annotations are provided, and also in cases where there is dispute over a reading to give scholars the necessary additional information that will enable them to reach their own conclusions as to the value of the various lines of tradition. A fourth volume is planned to contain a Qur'ānic Lexicon.

Apart from these four volumes it is planned, if time and money are available, to issue another series of volumes. Prof. Bergsträsser had thought of editing a series of *Studien zur Geschichte des Korantexts*, in which would appear material such as his already mentioned work on Ibn Jinnī and Ibn Khālawaih. The necessity for such a series still exists. The MSS of Ibn Abī Dāwūd and Al-'Ukbarī recently brought to light by the present writer, the relevant section of the Berlin MS of the *Mabānī*, Ibn al-Anbārī's *Waqf wa Ibtidā'*, and similar works, must be published, and the intensive search now being made for some of these lost *qirā'āt* books will certainly have some success in recovering to us texts that will demand publication. It is also possible that the Archive of Kūfic Codices may hold surprises that will call for early publication. The plan is, therefore, to look towards the issue of a series of *Studies in the Text of the Qur'ān*, where such material, as it becomes available, can be placed in the hands of students.

This then is where the Qur'ān plan stands at present. Whether it will be possible to carry it through in whole, or even in part, is of course another question.

Cairo, Egypt

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

## DOES THE BIBLE SPEAK OF MOHAMMED?

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The Moslem paper *Al Fath*, a Cairo weekly, recently concluded a series of articles which purport to show that the Bible contains a number of predictions regarding Mohammed and the spread of Islām. Unfortunately, the writer of the articles has evidently no conception of the nature of the development of religion. He holds the traditional Mohammedan view that man from the beginning of his history had knowledge of the fact that there is only one God, but was prone to lapse into polytheism; so God sent a number of prophets, all of whom taught the same doctrine, viz., God is One. It would seem, however, that God intended to give a final revelation through Mohammed, and so prepared the minds of men for his coming. But the Jews were notoriously disobedient, and so, although they had been given clear knowledge of Mohammed, they corrupted their Scriptures to conceal all reference to him. Christians also had no desire to accept the coming prophet, and they too did their utmost to obliterate all mention of him. In this effort, however, neither party was altogether successful, and so the writer of the articles in *Al Fath* proceeds to deal with a number of passages which to his mind give clear information about Mohammed.

Twenty-six passages from the Bible were dealt with, but the present writer has unfortunately been able to procure only the articles which deal with the last fifteen of the series. Repeated letters (including payment) have failed to produce the earlier articles. But it is hoped that the summary given below of the articles which the present writer has seen may be of service in showing the way some Moslems are doing crooked thinking.

*Daniel 2:31-45. The four kingdoms.*

The interpretation of this dream, they say, shows clearly that it refers to Islām conquering the Roman Empire. The stone cut without hands cannot refer to Jesus, for Nebuchadnezzar reigned from 605 to 561 B. C., and between that time and the coming of Christ the period was too short for four great dynasties to arise and be overthrown. If it is argued that Christ established an everlasting spiritual kingdom, the argument cannot hold, for the kingdoms of the West at the present day are full of covetousness, insolence, and materialistic heathenism, and do not follow his teachings in any respect.

The first kingdom was the Chaldaean; the second, the early days of the Persian kingdom; the third, Persian at its zenith; and the fourth, the Roman Empire. At first Rome was strong like iron, then division arose and one part became weak while the other remained strong. In the seventh century, A. D., the stone cut without hands appeared and crushed the Roman Empire and the remains of the Persian; and after a period of eighty years the Moslem Empire was greater than the Roman and finally brought it to an end. In the course of their conquests the Moslems spread to the cradle of the Chaldaean Empire, and so they brought the four kingdoms to an end. As the Persian Empire remained till 640 A. D. and the Roman till 1453, the prophecy must refer to Mohammed.<sup>1</sup>

*Habakkuk 1:5-11. Conquest by the Chaldaeans.*

This describes the Arabs accurately. They are referred to as Chaldaeans because the Chaldaeans were an offshoot of the Arabs. (Rawlinson and Sayce, among others, are quoted as authorities for this statement.) The Arabs are horsemen whose horses are like leopards<sup>2</sup> in speed and like wolves in impetuosity. They spread everywhere and are never routed. They have come to remove oppression and they take prisoners, as numerous as the sand, from the nations. This clearly refers to the Arabs, as no people

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Book of Religion and Empire* by 'Alī Ṭabari (trans. by A. Mingana, Manchester, 1922) p. 133f.

<sup>2</sup> In the article, "eagles", appears for "leopards", but this is obviously a misprint. A change of one letter gives "leopards."

ever conquered such a wide empire in thirty years as they did. The kings of Persia and Rome had despised them, "but poor men of their number got possession of the daughters of those kings and princes, and that was the great success." Such numbers of captives were never taken by another race, so the prophecy clearly applies to the Arabs.

*Haggai 2:6-9. "The desire of all nations."*

The shaking of the heavens, the earth and the nations refers to a great happening which will be known to the whole earth, and the nations will welcome the coming one who will free them from imaginations and old customs. In the time of "The desire of all nations" greater glory than formerly will come to God's house in Jerusalem. Now this must refer to Mohammed, for after the time of Christ, as he himself foretold, the Temple was destroyed. The Moslems fulfilled Haggai's prophecy by building the Aqṣā Mosque which has a greater glory than Solomon's Temple. The Temple was adorned with silver and gold, but the Aqṣā Mosque was recently repaired at a cost of £100,000, which is a small amount compared with what the Caliph al Walīd<sup>3</sup> spent on it.

*Zechariah 4:1-7. Vision of a candlestick.*

This is a vision seen by Joshua the priest (*sic*) and is a reference to a noble religion. The angel explains the vision as meaning that a divine religion will cover the earth, and that the cornerstone and seal of the prophets will be brought forth amidst the acclamations of the world. The religion cannot be Christianity, which is merely a fulfilment and development of Judaism. So it must be Islām. The cornerstone is Mohammed.

*Malachi 4:2, 3. The sun of righteousness.*

The pious are told that they will become mighty and overthrow the wicked, rendering them helpless as scattered dust. The pious are those who worship God alone and fight for Him with their property and persons that God's word may prevail. They are those who have destroyed

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<sup>3</sup> Omayyad Caliph 705-715 A. D.

proud tyrants and given people rest from their oppressors, so that polytheism, evil, and persecution have passed away, and people can breathe the fragrance of freedom. This is what the Arabs have done, and they are the followers of Mohammed who taught the pure unity of God.

*Matthew 13:31, 32. The grain of mustard seed.*

The kingdom of heaven is a universal, eternal religion, of which John the Baptist and Jesus spoke, but which they did not found. Jesus came merely to reform Judaism, and his religion lasted only a short time before Christians altered it. Islām was at first like a grain of mustard seed, then it grew till it spread over the world.

*Matthew 21:43. The kingdom of God shall be taken from you.*

Christ used these words to Jews who opposed and persecuted him. The kingdom of God (i. e., the religion of Moses which had made them a great people) would be taken from them and given to another people who would follow its teachings and produce its fruits. It is clear that this refers to Islām and the Arabs, for the Jewish religion taught the pure unity of God as does Islām, and both religions have similar laws. The article then gives a brief summary of the history of Israel up to the final dispersion, and says that the efforts of the English to settle the Jews in Palestine will be in vain, and will produce only a fire which will consume Jews and English together. During the period of Jewish disobedience the Arabs were the only people who were kept free from corrupting influences, so they were worthy to become the bearers of the torch of truth to the world. God sent Mohammed with Islām and revealed the Koran to him. Thus Christ's prophecy was fulfilled in the Arabs.

*Mark 12:1-11. The wicked husbandmen.*

This parable refers to the Jews, and especially their doctors and priests, who changed and corrupted the law and kept the people from the truth. The vineyard is God's religion, i. e., belief in God's unity which all prophets taught. The first revealed book containing a law was the *Torah*,

which made Israel great. But they erred, so God sent many prophets whom they opposed and persecuted, and therefore they were punished. At last He sent Christ, who is referred to as the Son. This may mean the Chosen, or the Beloved, or the name may be used because he had no human father. Or it may be used because the Jews called themselves sons of God, or because the disciples called Jesus Son, owing to God's care for him and the miracles He enabled him to perform, so that God may be said to have been disposed to him as a father to his son. But the people ill-treated him, and the leaders would have killed him, if God had not delivered him from their hands.<sup>4</sup> So God's favor was taken from the Jews and given to a nation one would not have expected to receive it, or to produce the chief of the prophets, who is called the corner stone which the builders rejected.

*John 1:19-25. John the Baptist not Christ, nor Elias, nor that prophet.*

Moses had promised another prophet like unto himself, (cf. Deut. 18:15) so Elijah, the Messiah and this prophet were expected. The people thought John the Baptist must be one of the three, but he denied this. He was mistaken, however, for Jesus said that John came in the spirit of Elijah. So John was Elijah, Jesus was the Messiah; it remains to decide who was "the prophet." (The Arabic version has "the prophet" instead of "that prophet" as in the Authorized Version.) The use of the article shows that he was one whose characteristics were known. He was the prophet of whom Moses spoke, and no one fits this description but Mohammed. The writer proceeds to make some play on this matter. He has asked some Christian ministers to explain this passage, and has been amused at their confusion. Some have said the prophet is Christ, but that would make the passage deal with two instead of three. Yet such a statement is perhaps not surprising, for Christians say three are one and one is three. The

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<sup>4</sup> cf. Koran 4:155-157, where it is said that another was put in Jesus' place, whereas Jesus was taken up to heaven.

upshot of the matter is that anyone who has eyes can see that the prophet is Mohammed. (*sic.*)

*John 14:15-17. Another Comforter to abide for ever.*

"Another Comforter" means that there was a first Comforter, and the context shows he was Christ. So the second Comforter must be an apostle like Christ, except that his message will be everlasting. The phrase "whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him," does not mean that the message comes by a spirit, but that people will at first reject it because they are immersed in unbelief. The fulfilment of this prophecy does not require that the Comforter should come in the time of the disciples, but that he should come when there were true believers in Christ. Now the remarkable thing is that this happened, for Mohammed is the other Comforter. The People of the Book recognised him and a number of genuine Christians accepted him. But the world did not see or know him till the veils were removed. Mohammed remains for ever, for he is the last of the prophets, and at present Islām is the predominant religion, for there are Moslems in every nation.

*John 14:26. The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name.*<sup>5</sup>

"Comforter" is not a correct translation of Paraclete, for it means Aḥmad, or Moḥammed. But let Comforter be taken as one of Mohammed's characteristics, then it means that he comforts the disciples and removes their grief at Christ's departure. There is also no objection to making the Holy Spirit a substitute for Mohammed,<sup>6</sup> because both Christ and Mohammed were strengthened by the Holy Spirit. The Koran mentions Christ and his religion, and it includes all he said when he was a prophet to the Children of Israel.<sup>7</sup> He called men to believe in the unity of God, denied his own divinity, said that faith in him was faith in God, and declared that he did the will of Him who sent him. The passage shows there is to be no apostle

<sup>5</sup> cf. Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> This statement appears less astounding when it is remembered that in the Koran Mohammed evidently understands the Holy Spirit to be Gabriel.

<sup>7</sup> This statement is surprising, if the writer is prepared to take this verse and other passages with which he deals as sayings of Christ, for they are not mentioned in the Koran.

between Christ and Mohammed. Now Mohammed is the only man who came after Christ who removed the falsehoods which had grown up around him. But the Christians will not admit Mohammed's preeminence, so they may be left alone, for they will do us no harm.

*John 14:27-31. The prince of this world.*

Christ takes leave of his disciples and tells them what is going to happen. They must not be troubled at afflictions, nor grieve at his departure. He will not speak much with them, for the prince of this world is coming to complete what he (Christ) could not do. He takes nothing from Christ, but by ruling the world he will be greater than he, and will testify to him. The prince of this world must be one of whom people have need, he must praise Christ, all men must acknowledge his leadership, he must strengthen the world and save it from corruption, and finally, he is not Christ. The word "comes" indicates something in the future, so the prince of this world is undoubtedly Mohammed<sup>8</sup> who brought the true religion after Christ and whose leadership has been established in an undeniable manner. So Islām is the true treatment for the ills of the world. One has only to look at Europe and America, and the East, which is afflicted by them, to see the truth of this.

*John 15:26, 27. The Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father.*

The Holy Spirit cannot be what the deceivers declare, for if Christ, the Father, and the Holy Spirit are God, how can the Father send Christ and Christ send the Holy Spirit? And how can these three Persons be one God and send one another? How can God be thought of as sending God? And how can God's sending depend on God's departure? For in another verse Christ says that unless he departs the Comforter cannot come. So we must conclude that the Father alone is God, and that Christ and the Comforter, called the Holy Spirit, are apostles.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> It need hardly be said that the writer has made rather a ludicrous mistake in this instance, as in previous cases.

<sup>9</sup> For further reference to such arguments see reference to article by Louis Massignon, mentioned in THE MOSLEM WORLD, April, 1934, p. 213.

As Christ is a human being, the Comforter must be similar. Christ's sending of him means that he will come after Christ's prophetic work is ended. The coming of the Comforter from the Father means that he is to be a messenger of His, not of Christ's. The reference to proceeding from the Father means divine guidance and help in the prophetic office, and also knowledge of secrets of the spiritual world. The Comforter will testify to Christ, and his testimony will agree with what the disciples know. This Comforter who came from God was Mohammed. His apostleship was a divine outpouring and a holy light which is rightly described as proceeding from God.

*John 16:5-16. He will reprove the world of sin.*<sup>10</sup>

This is like the former passage but clearer. The Comforter is a man who will reprove Jews and Christians for their want of faith and perversion of God's word. The context shows that the Comforter will come in the distant future, not immediately. The saying that the Comforter "will take of Christ's" means that they both come from the same source from which all prophets came, viz., the divine revelation. "All things that the Father hath are mine" means that Christ spoke not on his own authority, but as the Father taught him. The description of the Comforter fits Mohammed exactly, for he brought a law which surpassed the law of Christ and said to his people what Christ could not say. He rebuked unbelievers, glorified Christ, and foretold many things. So no intelligent person can any longer doubt the correctness of the Koranic verse which says that Jesus announced the coming of Aḥmad (Koran 61:6).

*Revelation 9:2-4. Locusts which would hurt only those who had not God's seal in their forehead.*

This passage speaks of a great people who are to punish the nations without causing general destruction. The smoke coming from the pit refers to the condition of the world at the time when the prophecy will be fulfilled. There was to be lack of faith and of knowledge of the truth. The

<sup>10</sup> cf. Mingana *op. cit.*, p. 140f. For a number of passages, different from those dealt with in this article, see Mingana, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-146.

locusts which have power refer to an armed nation. Locusts usually destroy crops, but those which come from the smoke will not destroy any green thing. They will destroy only those people who have not the seal of God in their foreheads. This is an extraordinary army, for armies usually cause destruction; and we find that in ancient and modern history the only army which acted in this manner was that of the Moslems. It destroyed no fields nor buildings, but simply fought with those who opposed it. Abū Bakr <sup>11</sup> gave instructions to his army which agree exactly with this revelation. He ordered that no women, children, or old men should be killed; that fruit trees and crops should not be destroyed; and that Christian monks should be left in peace in their monasteries.

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This concludes the summary. To many readers such arguments will be familiar; but it is hoped that what is summarized above will be of use to others in showing them what arguments they may have to meet. It is not the present writer's intention to point out where the exegesis of the various passages is astray. To one who has benefited from modern thought it must be at once apparent how hopelessly wrong it is. It is enough to say that if the writer of the articles has proved anything, he has proved that controversy is not a method to be adopted by missionaries unless circumstances make it unavoidable; for a man who can use such methods of interpretation will never be brought to the light by controversy.

But the publication of these articles leads one to draw attention to a matter which is of vital importance in connection with missionary work among Moslems. Islām is fundamentally a religion of a book. Mohammed performed no miracles, but he pointed to the Koran as a supreme miracle. "Say, If *jinn* and men united together to produce something like this Koran, they would not produce its like though they helped one another." (Koran 17:90. Cf. also 2:21, 10:39, 11:16.) Now since the Koran has such a high

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<sup>11</sup> The first Caliph.

place in the thoughts of Moslems, it follows automatically that any book which seems to contradict it must be wrong. Therefore the missionary who would set himself out to prove that the Koran contains errors, is going about things the wrong way. The orthodox Moslem cannot admit the possibility of error in the Koran, so to him there is no argument about the matter.

But surely religion is something more than a matter of books; and even if a man is persuaded that the Bible is superior to the Koran, he is not automatically a better man on that account. To make the point at issue a question of the relative validity of the Bible and the Koran is to miss altogether the essence of Christianity. If one does this, it may quite possibly appear to Moslems that they are being presented with nothing but a variety of what they have already. But the basis of Christianity is not the Bible: it is Christ. Or, to put it in another way, we do not value Christ because first of all we have learned to value the Bible: we value the Bible because we learn in it of Christ.

So it should be clear that the Christian substitute for the Koran is not the Bible, but Christ. In the development of Moslem theology the belief in the Koran being the eternal word of God was given explicit expression through contact with Christians who spoke of Christ as the eternal Word.<sup>12</sup> Therefore the proper method of approach to Moslems should be the presentation of Christ. If He is faithfully presented, He will make His appeal to the heart. The method of argument often leads to nothing but recriminations, which do more harm than good, thus diverting the apologist from the essence of Christianity. The present writer would therefore insist that controversy is not the atmosphere in which men are drawn into the Kingdom of God. By all means let the missionary give a reason for the faith that is in him, and answer honest difficulties; but let him avoid mere argument, like a plague. His prime duty is to present Christ.

Glasgow.

JAMES ROBSON.

<sup>12</sup> cf. D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 146; R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, pp. 210-11; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 150.

## A BAHA'I PONTIFF IN THE MAKING

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The coming of an Imam or Mahdi is the living hope of Islam. Ever since the fateful battle of Kerbela (680) which witnessed the defeat of the grandson of the Prophet by the hosts of the orthodox, and the annihilation of his gallant but ill-starred band, the febrile imagination of many sections of the Islamic world has kindled to the expectation of one to come, a sort of returning Elijah, under whose divine guidance the faith would be reformed toward a uniform and more or less primitive orthodoxy, and the world itself brought under the dominion of the Prophet. The hope has been more fervent among the Shiahs, the partisans of Ali, than among the Sunnis.

Just how or when the belief arose is not clear. The title appears to have been given to Ali's son Mohammed, but there is little ground for supposing that the prophet himself contemplated the appearance of a Mahdi, notwithstanding the fact that prophecies of such a personage were afterwards attributed to him. Unquestionably it is the expression of a deep-rooted desire of the human heart, not peculiar to Islam alone, but to be found among other religions of the world, breaking out in different ages and among different peoples, now as a Messianic hope, now as an Adventist doctrine, and anon as a theory of incarnations or *avatars*. It must be remembered too, that this foundling faith in its infancy was rocked in the cradle of Christianity by the hand of Judaism, and in its adolescence it both wooed and fought with amazing audacity now one, now the other. Geographical propinquity meant constant commercial contacts, as the Persian Gulf-Palmyra-Tyre and the Red Sea-Mecca-Tyre caravan routes attest. "The history of earliest commerce is the history of incense, and the land of incense was Arabia." And commercial contact of any dura-

tion at all always means cultural contagion. It would be strange if this hope, which at times beat so ardently in the breasts of neighbor-Jew and neighbor-Christian, had not found a response in the heart of the Moslem. In the third place—and perhaps this is as significant a factor as any—the formative era of Islam was characterized by disorder, confusion, and civil war. Especially was that true in respect to Persia, whose people were more conquered by the new faith than converted to it, and into whose tragic history was written a new chapter when the Abbasids unfurled their black standard in Khorasan, and the surveillance of the Omayyads changed to bloody suppression. There could be but one issue to this, an issue psychologically predictable—an undaunted confidence, if somewhat unsound, in a Deliverer to come, an expectation which heightened with their own weakness. To the Jew in exile, more than a thousand years before, the vision was familiar, to which fancy the infant Church under the persecution of a Nero, a Domitian, a Decius, a Diocletian also fell heir. In an apocalyptic atmosphere, a Messiah becomes inevitable, imperative. Between Palestine and Persia, however, there was a difference: with the former, the moral implications of the forces at work were consistently clear, and one's ethical perspective as to truth and duty was never distorted either by fanaticism or fear. In the history of neither Judaism nor Christianity can one parallel *taqiyya*—that ethical toboggan slide—countenanced by the Shiah, and to which all the sects which have sprung from that faith have had recourse.<sup>1</sup>

With Persia steeped in Imamism and the equally heady principles of Sufism<sup>2</sup> it was only to be anticipated that aspirants would be forthcoming, who would claim in themselves the fulfilment of the national expectancy. Such a one was the mystic dreamer, Mirza Ali Mohammed, who as a young man of four and twenty declared himself to be the

<sup>1</sup> A study of the life of Mary Baker Eddy and of the history of the Christian Science movement furnishes interesting data of the encroachment of this perversion upon the confines of Christianity, data which suggest too its fearful moral consequences.

*Taqiyya*=dissimulation.

<sup>2</sup> It will be recalled that the Ahmadiya movement of the Punjab sprang from a soil impregnated with Mahdism and Sufism.

revelation of God, himself the Primal Will, the Bab or "door" to life eternal, who was to supersede all previous prophets, including Jesus and Mohammed, as Babism, of which he was the author, was destined to eclipse Islam. He was a pathetic figure whose life was quickly cut short by a firing squad, but whose delusion that act failed to frighten from the public mind.

Though he claimed to be God, Mirza Mohammed yet held that no revelation was final, that another dispensation building upon him would yet be founded—*salvo jure* and *apologia* for the next saviour. And unerringly he came (by a delayed and circuitous route but ultimately arriving) in the person of Mirza Hussayn Ali of Teheran, alias Baha'u'llah who, from the day of his "issuing forth" until his death at Akka was accorded increasing recognition by Babists and others, particularly visionary enthusiasts and speculative mystics as the one foretold, "whom God will manifest." The principle of succession was not long in resolving itself, and the Elisha who seized the mantle of this departing Elijah was his eldest son 'Abdu'l-Baha, accepted by the faithful as the Exemplar and Interpreter of the faith now founded.

"Baha'u'llah ascended (i. e., passed from this world) in 1892, leaving a *Testament* naming 'Abdu'l-Baha as the Head of His Cause, the Interpreter of His Teachings and the Promulgator of His Faith. The providential spirit guiding and protecting the Baha'i Cause from its beginning, centered thereafter in 'Abdu'l-Baha."

So runs the record.<sup>3</sup> This last-named leader "served as the witness and proof of Baha'u'llah," unifying the followers and organising the faith into a system, albeit not a very lucid or original one, and "exploring the fundamental problems of religion" before audiences in America and Europe in an accommodating and reconciliatory fashion. As for the Scriptures that wrote themselves off from his pen we are assured that

"no such source of education in the whole meaning of the word exists in the modern world outside the writings of 'Abdu'l-Baha. In these writings the ideals of Christian, Jew, and other religionists,

<sup>3</sup> *The Baha'i World*, 1926-1928, p. 5.

of philosopher and scientist, of economist and reformer are abundantly realised."

Time passed, and with it 'Abdu'l-Baha, who died November 28, 1921, after committing the future of the Cause to his eldest grandson Shoghi Effendi.<sup>4</sup>

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It was Sunday noon when the automobile from Jerusalem halted its dusty trail in the heart of Haifa. A hotel, a bath, and lunch, and I was ready for a stroll. Knowing something of the significance of Haifa to the Bahaists, my steps turned to the little Persian colony grouped near the home of the leader of the sect. The Guardian of the Cause was engaged, I was told, and would see me later, say in an hour. In the meantime, would I like to visit some of the sacred places at hand? It was his secretary and cousin who was speaking. I would, and so together we set out up the slope of Carmel to the garden-tomb of the Bab (executed in Tabriz in 1850, but later exhumed and re-interred, so his followers asseverate, at Haifa), and of 'Abdu'l-Baha. The place was undeniably beautiful, from the height of which one could view the long street stretching off across the German colony, glittering white in the Mediterranean sunlight, and beyond the blue waters of the Bay.

The conversation was casual, but a little sifting elicited the statement from my companion that he was a graduate of the American University of Beirut and had studied, principally Economics and Law, at the University of London.

The slow progress of the faith discouraged him.

"We find youth to be not interested at present in true religion (i. e., Bahaism). It is a discouraging aspect of the age. Our youth today are making two blunders: they think it is necessary to imitate the West in everything, and believing the West to be unspiritual they think it fitting to become irreligious to be in fashion."

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<sup>4</sup> According to the will of Baha'u'llah, a younger son Mohammed Ali was to succeed 'Abdu'l-Baha, but the last-named disregarded this provision and appointed his own grandson, then twenty-five years of age. Mohammed Ali did not appear to have the influence behind him to contest the nomination.

But there was nothing, I was assured, to prevent a man from being a Moslem and a Bahaist at the same time "provided he accepts the status of Baha'u'llah as the divine Son of God and the fullest and final revelation of God"—rather high for an initial hurdle, I thought. Evidently, notwithstanding profuse professions of catholicity and tolerance there was encysted in the faith the seed of bigotry.

He had said he had been in the United States, so I enquired of him what he found the attitude of the Christian West to be as he travelled through this land.

"I found the Unitarian Church, the Ethical Culture Society, and the liberal leaders of various denominations most appreciative, but the more orthodox bodies very unsympathetic. With the Roman Church of course we had no point of contact"—naturally, I reflected, since the leader of Bahaism demanded of the Pope of Rome that the latter acknowledge his priority as the absolute and universal Lord of all mankind. For Baha'u'llah, following, consciously or otherwise, the precedent of Mohammed, who in the flush of his success subpoenaed the potentates of Rome, Persia, Byzantium, and Egypt to accept his mission, issued likewise his mandamus to the Christian rulers of the earth.

We returned to the spacious home of Shoghi Effendi. He met us—a man of medium height, of quiet demeanor, and dressed in European attire. There seemed to be nothing markedly spiritual in that somewhat handsome face, and when he spoke one was more conscious of his courtesy and reserve than of any profundity in his utterances. To play the rôle of prophet, and much more to pose as God, is a sobering undertaking. Claim infallibility, and the dictates of discretion will prescribe a mystifying silence, and if to infallibility is added impeccability,<sup>5</sup> one can hardly afford to be original or enterprising.

After a few polite preliminaries, an attendant led us to a waiting automobile into which we entered.

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<sup>5</sup> It is alleged by some that the Bahaists of Syria are following in the footsteps of the Shiahs in their regard for Ali, and saying that Shoghi Effendi is sinless.

A sea breeze laden with the odor of the ocean; ten miles of hard, smooth sand pounded by the white-reefed rollers to the firmness of macadam over which we rolled in a comfortable car—it is the road to Akka around the bay of Haifa. And at the end of the journey two miles beyond the town, the garden-tomb of Baha'u'llah,—red geraniums in quantity, red balsams by the hundreds, red coral plants (*ruselia superba*) and red paths of broken pottery set in a garden of green sward, relieved by white bushes of the fragrant jasmine, and the equally redolent oleander—it was a charming scene. Within, the tomb was a combination of hot-house and sanctuary. The grave of the leader, on which stood some golden-branched candlesticks, an urn of flowers, the gift of American adherents, and a few expensive and ornate vases, lay in a small chamber to the right. The main room was in the form of a square, perhaps thirty feet on the side with a large alcove at one end, adjoining the modest mausoleum designed with altar-effect. In one corner of the room, attached to the wall, was a lamp, the gift of Stuttgart believers. The centre of the room was a garden of green plants and trees, not flowers, about fifteen feet square, rendered extremely beautiful by a verdant column of trailing asparagus in heavy foliage, which first reached to and then dropped from the roof.

From the shrine, where by this time a group of a dozen pilgrims had gathered, who bowed and bowed and bowed obsequiously to this youthful, western-educated, western-clad, English-speaking leader of the sect whenever he spoke to, looked at, or passed them by, we repaired to the garden of Baha'u'llah, where the dead promoter was wont to rest and meditate, read and write, after the ban of his incarceration was lifted. It too was not without its beauty, thanks to the assiduous care of a young Persian Zoroastrian. The garden, like the other, a blazing glory of red, was in reality a small island. From the central bed, fifty yards in length, rose half a dozen giant trees like conifers, which, I was informed, had been brought as seeds from Egypt, in the days of Baha'u'llah.

Ultimately we returned to the car upon the beach, and speeding back to Haifa I put some questions to my kind host.

"You are a university man?"

"Yes, I am a graduate of the American University of Beirut, and I spent also a year and a half at Oxford studying political economy."

"Did you ever take up psychology?"

"No!"

"Or philosophy?"

"No! I am not interested in abstract thought."

An illuminating admission, I thought, explaining in part the paradox of his own person, that he could hold essentially abstract notions about divine effulgences to the extent of impersonating divinity without sensing either its futility or its humor. One would not expect specialization in political economy or, as in the case of his first assistant and cousin, Ruhi Afnan, law, to be particularly pertinent in preparing one for a hypostatic rôle.<sup>6</sup> "Religion" he added, "is to be a social idea."

I asked if he did not think a full-rounded and efficacious religion should speak with confidence concerning sin, forgiveness, God, immortality, and was immediately assured that Bahaism does all of that—that it differs from other faiths not in fundamental principles, for therein it agrees with all, but in its application of certain social laws, which were divinely revealed to Baha'u'llah, thereby placing him on a different and unique pedestal among God's prophets, as the last to come. This revelation he has set down in a book in Arabic, not yet translated, "because the time is not ripe, the world is not yet ready to receive it. When it is translated, which will be after the economic and spiritual catastrophe foretold by Baha'u'llah to occur within a

<sup>6</sup> Not infrequently, writers on Indian affairs, brought into personal contact with Mahatma Gandhi confess surprise and regret that one who is presuming to prescribe for India's millions a new economic and political régime, should entertain a contempt for books, especially such as would inform him on the problems arising in those particular fields, and of the experience of the race in endeavoring to solve those problems. For example, one well-informed critic writing on *M. K. Gandhi as a Factor in Indian Politics*, (F. G. Pratt in *Political India*: Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. 206-7), says: "His habit from quite an early period of his life has been to rely on what he describes as the inner light or the inner vision, for the solution of mental and spiritual problems . . . and this manner of thinking has given him a supreme self-confidence which has sometimes been to him a tower of strength and sometimes a snare and a pitfall. He distrusted book-knowledge, so his friend Mrs. Polak tells us, and seemed to think that it 'obscured if it did not destroy the capacity to perceive the inner vision.' Of history and economics he has made no serious study. His ideas of history are such as might be derived from the school-books of fifty years ago."

hundred years, seventy of which have passed, it will revolutionize society. After that cataclysm Bahaism will come into its own."<sup>7</sup>

He spoke with incredible seriousness, like one who sensed impending disaster. It was not that he anticipated the inevitable and evolutionary revolutions which every thoughtful student of history foresees, but an event more apocalyptic. Such changes as were under way he grasped at as the sign and seal of the soundness of Bahaism. Indeed it was as if among the religions of the world, Bahaism was the chancleer whose crowing would cause the sun to rise upon universal ruin.

"How many Bahaists would you say there are in the world?"

"We cannot say. We keep no records of membership, in the sense that the Christian Church does. The lines between Bahaism and Christianity are not yet clearly demarked. It is sometimes difficult to tell who are and who are not Bahaists, so much do they merge. We also find that many people assent to our teachings, even join our communion, but refrain from active loyalty to us."

"Do you ask your members to submit to any initiatory rite before you accept them?"

"No ceremony is necessary for recognition of membership,<sup>8</sup> nor do we observe any one day as peculiarly sacred. All that we insist on is the acceptance of the status of Baha'u'llah and of his infallible teachings in their entirety."

On this last point he was adamant and explicit. He reverted to it time and again.

"Is Baha'u'llah in your thought a divine being and as such to be worshipped?"

"We do not think of him as God, though he is divine. He is God in the sense that the mirror reflects the sun. We know that the sun is not in the mirror, but we know also that it is. Similarly Baha'u'llah said he was God, and as such we worship him."

"You mean you pray to him?"

"Yes. Our prayers are to him, for by him as our Mediator we come to God."

<sup>7</sup> The book referred to here is the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* (the "Most Holy Book") a small volume written by Baha'u'llah, a compendium of laws purporting to govern Bahaism's world-empire to be. Those non-Bahaists who have had the opportunity to study it—for the Bahaists are jealous for its possession, as the conservative Muslim objects to the sale of the Koran to the infidel—point out its dogmatic insistence on unreserved acceptance of Baha'u'llah as the sole hope of salvation, and its Levitical character as being manifestly patterned, notwithstanding many changes, after the Koran, which work it abrogates—reason enough perhaps why they prefer it should remain untranslated.

<sup>8</sup> Any ceremony involving public confession of the faith would hardly be consonant with the practice of *taqiyyah* or dissimulation which Bahaism endorses.

"Are you not afraid that with the passing years Bahaism will degenerate into a cult of saint-worship, a form of homolatri?"

"We see the danger, and the education of our people is my great concern, to which I am devoting much thought."

"I wish you could dislodge from my mind the notion that Bahaism at its best is but a fragment of the teachings of Jesus."

I said this because I was not unaware of the fact that the founder of this cult had been influenced by the Bible.

"It does not contradict Christianity. It only supersedes it, as a later revelation of a teaching more needed by this modern age," he answered patiently.

"In what way?"

"Not in fundamentals, but in the laws to govern future society which it will promulgate"—hinting, I thought, at the mysterious *Kitab-i-Aqdas*.

I surrendered. There was not much one could say, for as far as he was concerned, the matter obviously was closed.

We left the beach, the beautiful beach still strewn with the prickly purple shells which made ancient Tyre famous for its dye, and re-entered the city. As we did so our conversation dropped to an exchange of commonplaces. What was the use of talk anyway? I was perplexed, depressed—at the seeming everlasting vitality of error; at the credulity of men. True, I reflected, it is a bubble religion, an evanescent phenomenon, but until it breaks, what waste of ideals, of hope, of faith, of precious qualities of the human spirit! Moreover its fraudulent character, not to mention its ill-balanced dogmatism, and its attenuated ethics,<sup>9</sup> covered o'er with the jargon of the social reformer, rasped my sense of decency and right. The Greek in me stumbled (was it, I wondered, thus with the Athenians and Paul?) as the unperverted pagan within fought for a hearing, blinding me momentarily to the pathos and—let us admit it—the beauty in Bahaism's smouldering, questing passion.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Bahaism sets its approval on polygamy. Indeed Baha'u'llah himself had two wives and a concubine. The history of the succession subsequent to his death is dark with conspiracy and violence. And in its sanction of the death penalty for enemies of the faith it goes beyond the limits of Islam.

<sup>10</sup> For further information see: "Baha'ism—its Origin, History, Teachings", by William McElwee Miller, New York, 1931.

## AL-MADINAH: ARABIC OR ARAMAIC?

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In his article in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Professor Buhl says that the word *Al-Madinah* is taken from the Aramaic, in which language *Medinta* "means strictly 'area of jurisdiction' and hence town (of some size)" He then states that in the Meccan *suras* the word occurs only as an "appellative" (its plural *Mada'in* having the same significance); while in the Madinan *suras* there are four occurrences, where it is used as a proper name for the new residence of the prophet. The old name of *Yathrib* is found but once.<sup>1</sup> Professor Buhl then continues:—"It is evident from these references that the usual explanation of the name as "the town" (of the Prophet) is a later one. It is rather to be supposed that it was a result of the existence of a strong Jewish element in Yathrib that the Aramaic loan-word became the regular name of the town."<sup>2</sup>

The Professor's argument is philological, made more cogent by the fact that the three Jewish tribes, previous to the advent of the *Bani 'Aus* and *Bani Khazraj*, had been supreme in Madinah, as were the Jews in *Khaibar* and other places in Northern Arabia. It may be worth examining carefully the instances of the occurrence of *Al Madinah* in the Koran, so far as the Meccan *suras* are concerned, in order to see whether support may not be forthcoming by this means for the philological argument. There is no need to make any examination of the Madinan passages,<sup>3</sup> where the reference is obvious, though we may note in passing that one of the passages cited by Buhl as referring to *Al Madinah*, *par excellence*, is not printed with a capital

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<sup>1</sup> 33.13.

<sup>2</sup> *Enc. of Islam*, Part 38.

<sup>3</sup> 9.102, 121: 33.8: 63.8.

letter in the translations either of Muhammad 'Ali or Marmaduke Pickthall, as is the case with the other three instances. In two of the four cases *Al Madinah* occurs in connection with the *munafiqin* (some of whom were of Jewish extraction); in the other two the reference is to the townsfolk generally.

It is the occurrences in the Meccan *suras* that call for scrutiny—those which Buhl calls “appellative.” In the singular we find the word ten times, there being three occurrences also of the plural, *Mada'in*. In their Koranic order these are as follows:

“They said (unto Pharoah); Put him off for a while—him and his brother—(i.e., Moses and Aaron)—and send into the *cities* summoners” (7:111).

(There is the same allusion in 26:36, 54).

“Pharoah said: . . . This is the plot that ye have plotted in the *city*” (7:122).

“And the women in the *city* said: The ruler's wife is asking of her slave-boy (i. e., Joseph) an ill deed” (12:30).

“And the people of the *city* came rejoicing at the news” (of new arrivals, i. e., the family of Lot) (15:67).

“Now send one of you with this your silver coin into the *city*” (i. e., in the story of the Seven Sleepers) (18:20).

“And as for the wall, it belonged to two orphan boys in the *city*” (in a story of Moses) (18:33).

“And there were in the *city* nine persons who made mischief in the land” (in one of the occurrences of the story of Salih and Thamud) (27:48).

“And he entered the *city* at a time of the carelessness of its folk” (in a story of Moses) (28:15).

“And morning found him in the *city*, fearing, vigilant” (of Moses) (28:18).

“And a man came from the uttermost of the *city* running” (still in the story of Moses) (28:20).

“And there came from the uttermost of the *city* a man running” (36:20).<sup>4</sup>

Of these thirteen occurrences it is obvious at once that in ten cases, including the duplicate story in *suras* 7 and 26, the reference is in contexts which are Jewish and which Mohammed in all probability, if not certainty, obtained from a Jewish source. The heroes are men who figure in

<sup>4</sup> The quotations are from Pickthall's Translation.

Hebrew history, Moses and Aaron, Joseph and Lot; and the arch-oppressor, Pharaoh.

There remain three instances for consideration, the allusion to the Seven Sleepers, the story of Salih and Thamud, and the rather more anonymous reference in *Ya Sin*.

In the first case, the story, it is true, concerns Christians and not Jews. But Dr. Torrey has shown that the Jews in Mecca were interested in this tale, and since all the rest of the narratives in this particular *sura* appear to be derivable from a Jewish source, "there is a bit of internal evidence here which should not be overlooked."<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, there is the reference to the nine persons in the city of the Thamudites, who made mischief in the land. This story, too, is sandwiched in between the visits of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, and references to Lot and the destruction of the cities of the plain. Hence the setting once more is in a *sura* dealing with Jewish history. Though usually confined to Jewish history, there is no reason why the loan-word should not be applied to the past of Arabian history; while in this particular case the site of the destroyed dwellings of the inhabitants has been known for centuries as Mada'in Salih.<sup>6</sup> It is, of course, possible that the site of Al Hejr was actually known to Mohammed as Mada'in Salih.

The last of the three occurrences, where a Jewish origin or connection is not so obvious, is an almost identical reproduction of a phrase in the story of Moses, given in Surat al Qasas. Possibly here the *Madinah* refers to Antioch, if the *Qarya* mentioned previously is rightly taken as meaning Antioch by some of the commentators.<sup>7</sup> In this case the actual incident is once again Christian. The whole context of the verse in which the word appears, is a familiar one in the Koran; and by this time Mohammed must have been sufficiently familiar with Al Madinah to make use of it in other than specifically Jewish contexts.

<sup>5</sup> The Jewish Foundation of Islam, pp. 35, 12 cf.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Doughty's description in "Arabia Deserta," ch. iv.

<sup>7</sup> Wherry, Vol. 3, pp. 351, ff.

Perhaps we may even go further and suggest that his familiarity with the word in Mecca made it natural to take to the already established use of the name for his new home, and Madinat an Nabi was naturally used later for purposes of distinguishing it from other Mada'in. May this also have been the reason for the epithet *Munawwara*? But the main question is, Does the evidence of the Meccan *suras* of the Koran, which came into being during the period when Mohammed was unquestionably the debtor of the Jews in his literary endeavors, support the philological derivation of *Al Madinah*, as propounded by Professor Buhl?

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## MOSLEM RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES IN THE UNITED STATES

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The religious influence of Islam in the United States, direct or indirect, has many different aspects, but it is not wide nor very deep. By direct influence we mean the traditional Sunnite or Shi'ite form of Islam; by indirect influence we mean various religious movements, the origin of which is to be found in the Moslem religion, but which can not be truly called Islamic.

*A. Traditional Islam.* Our first observation is that traditional Islam is followed in the United States exclusively by Moslem immigrants and eventually by their offspring, not by any European or by any Negro converts. On the other hand, the worshippers of cults having their origin in Islam are all American converts or their descendants.

It is very difficult to know the exact number of Moslem immigrants in the United States; twenty-five thousand would perhaps be a fair estimate. The largest center seems to be Detroit, with ten thousand. There are about two thousand in Pittsburgh, three thousand in Cleveland, five thousand in greater New York, two thousand in Massachusetts, five to six hundred in Rhode Island, etc. They seem to live rather separated according to their racial affinities. In New York, where we visited most of their organizations, we gained the impression that they were weak and unimportant. The only real mosque which exists today in America is that of the *Anglo-Mohammedan Association*, (that is, Russian Tatar Moslems) 108 Powers Street, Brooklyn. It is a three-story wooden building. Arabs of Syria and Palestine gather in the Young Men's Moslem Association, 1179 Broadway, New York City—a poor room, without even a small library.

The only Moslem Arab newspaper in America is *El-Bayan* (216 West 18th Street, New York), with a circulation of about two thousand copies. There is also in New York a Christian and Moslem Arabic book store, which sells from two to three hundred Korans yearly.

With such scattered organization, traditional Islam can have in the United States but a purely defensive attitude. Many of the immigrants have come without their wives; and in case of mixed marriages the children can hardly be expected to be Moslems. It is also difficult to state how far the religious duties of Islam are observed, but it can certainly not be better than in other parts of the Moslem world. The *Hajj* is practically unknown.

*B. The Baha'i Movement.* The oldest of the religious movements which originated in Islam, and which have representatives in America, is the Baha'i Movement. It is now losing its importance, for according to the Religious Census of 1926, there were then but 1,247 members, as compared with 2,884 in 1916. It is also important to observe that Baha'ism has today only very remote relations with Islam, for its direct origin is Babism and not Islam itself. In *The Baha'i World* for 1926-28 Mohammed's name appears but once, in the Exposition of the Creed between Buddha and Zoroaster.<sup>1</sup>

*C. The Ahmadiya Movement.* Where Baha'ism is today only historically related to Islam, the Ahmadiya Movement claims to be still a form of Moslem worship, and as a matter of fact it has conserved many features of traditional Islam.

Indian missionaries arrived in the United States after the War in order to spread the new faith. In 1933 there were six American centers of the "Ahmadiya Movement in Islam" namely Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Detroit, and Kansas City. The leader of the movement, Mufti Muhammed Sadiq, started in 1921 a review, *The Moslem Sunrise*, the publication of which has been

<sup>1</sup> In Miss Holmes' article published in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, July, 1926, the authoress speaks of Sufism as a form of Islamic mysticism existing in America. We were not able to find any clue supporting such a statement. Some other inaccuracies may be found in her study.

very irregular, and which ceased entirely for six years, from 1924 to 1930. Since then it has been resumed, with the same irregularity. The editor is the present leader of the movement, Sufi M. R. Bengalee, whose headquarters are 56 East Congress Street, Chicago.

I have no exact figures as to the number of converts, but I think it must be far less than ten thousand. It may be safe to speak vaguely of a few thousand, by far the greater part of them being Negroes. Some years ago there appeared in *The Moslem Sunrise* photographs of colored converts, often half-veiled women, with the title "an enthusiastic Moslem lady." Often converts were "re-christened," and took Moslem names, Hamid, Saeed, Mahmood, etc.

The new faith is preached here as elsewhere: it strives to be a new Islam, more or less enlightened by the appearance of a new and last Prophet Hazrah Ahmad, the promised Messiah and Mahdi. But much of the old traditional Islam remains: often parts of the Koran (with figured English pronunciation) appear in *The Moslem Sunrise* and are explained, as well as some Hadiths. Ramadhan and the Hajj are preached, also prayer and alms, but hardly under the form of the real "pillars of Islam." Circumcision and abstaining from pork are urged, but rather for hygienic reasons. Generally speaking, the Ahmadiya Movement claims to be scientific and modern. It hides those aspects of Islam which are strongly opposed to modern ideas, e. g., the position of the woman.

The same spirit of controversial propaganda (which is not at all, by the way, a peculiarity of Mohammedanism) appears in an article (January, 1932) on Mohammed in Medina. There are no false statements, but only the brighter aspects of things are mentioned. Nothing is said about the less attractive side of the Prophet's married life, and a wholly unobjective view of his struggle against the Jews is given, so that one cannot understand what really happened.

The few facts we have mentioned here show that the

Ahmadiya Movement in Islam, though an entirely heretical sect, rejecting an essential dogma of this religion, namely the fact that Mohammed is the last of the Prophets, still remains under the influence of the Moslem Creed.

*D. The Moorish Scientific Movement.* Nothing of the kind can be said of the last of religious creeds we will discuss here, the so-called Moorish Scientific Movement. Although we have not a direct proof of it, we suppose that it must have in some respects its origin in the Ahmadiya Movement. At least today it appears as a caricature of a religion and as a distinctive racial movement, having perhaps a few hundred followers among the Negroes in Chicago and New York.<sup>2</sup>

The sacred book of this new sect is the Holy Koran of the Moorish Temple of Science, divinely prepared by the Noble Prophet Drew Ali, whose photograph appears in the "Koran." This is a pamphlet of sixty pages divided into forty-seven chapters and an epilogue. This production was issued in 1927. We learn from the seal printed upon the book that this religion was founded May 1, 1916 and incorporated November 29, 1926.

This curious pamphlet can be divided into three parts. The first is an historical one, dedicated to John the Baptist and Jesus. The latter (and here I see a vague Ahmadiya influence) at twelve goes to India "with Prince Ravanno," studies "the man's Law," preaches in Benares, goes to Egypt, is crucified by the Jews, appears later to Apollo and to the priests in Heliopolis, etc., etc.

The second part (chapters 20-44) is chiefly concerned with ethics, and is of a much higher level. Where the "Noble Prophet" speaks of marriage, the influence of the Bible (books of Song of Solomon and Proverbs) is evident. Some of these passages have a certain delicacy, although nothing is new. Justice, charity, thoughtfulness and sincerity are preached.

The last part is the most interesting, and explains the historical and racial basis of the new religion. Its aim is

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<sup>2</sup> See a note in the Current Topics of this issue on this movement in Newark, N. J.  
—Editor.

to rehabilitate the Negro race, in calling it Asiatic, Moorish, and Moslem (chap. 45, v. 2 ff.). Here appear the Moors who are the ancient Moabites and founded Mecca, and also the Turks, of the blood of Hagar, protectors of the Islam Creed. Jesus was a Negro, who tried to redeem the black Moabites and was therefore executed (this time by Rome!). The Moorish Americans (that is, the Negroes) must be united under the direction of the noble Prophet Drew Ali, whose harbinger has been Marcus Garvey, just as John the Baptist was Jesus' harbinger. They must not mix with the white population, but go back to the true Islam founded by their ancestors, and abandon Christianity.

We shall not dwell longer upon those extraordinary historic and racial statements. It was worth while to show what has been the latest interpretation of Islam in America, although its present importance is almost negligible. According to the *New York Times* of a few months ago, there is now a Moorish Temple in Brooklyn, 149 Thatford Avenue. In reality there was nothing of the kind, but the miserable dwellings of some officials of the religion.

To summarize, the aspects of Moslem religious influence in the United States are manifold, but none of them has seriously affected the religious aspect of American life. This is easy to understand as far as the white race is concerned. It is not to be expected that Islam can be more successful here than in Europe; nor has traditional Islam attempted to convert America. But the relative failure of converting the Negroes either to the Ahmadiya Movement or to the new religion started by the noble Prophet Drew Ali can not be so easily explained. The obvious absurdity of the dogmas has nothing to do with the explanation of this social fact. And, on the other hand, it cannot be denied by one who studies the facts that Islam might play here a magnificent trump: namely, the far greater *real* equality of races in Islam than that existing in Christian America.

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## CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM IN LANA O

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The only important group of Mohammedans under the American flag are the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu. They belong to the same race as the other Filipinos and differ from them only in the fact that for more than four hundred and fifty years they have been influenced by the Mohammedan religion. On an average there are about four mosques to every kilometer around Lake Lanao. Every important *dato* has his own mosque, and with the mosques, of course, go *imams*, *panditas*, and even *sultans*. Unlike other Mohammedan regions, this province is blessed with an enormous oversupply of *sultans*. There are probably five hundred of them—two for each mosque. We have more *sultans* in this province than perhaps in all the rest of the world together. A few years ago the government passed an ordinance that no new *sultans* could be created without the approval of the province.

There are also at least a thousand *hajjis*. Ten or twenty of them go to Mecca every year, including some women. The Moros are convinced that Islam is the true religion, and are ready to defend it against anyone who may threaten it. Aside from the religious leaders, their knowledge of their religion is meager. What they know is largely the Arabic formulae, of which they do not understand a word. They do not receive from their religion any real help in building character.

Two fine illustrations of this were brought to our attention this week. A *sultan* and an *imam* both came to my office to have me persuade the government to decide cases in a manner favorable to them. If the government failed to do so, these men threatened to murder their opponents. The *sultan* wanted to depose a rival *sultan*, and the *imam* wanted the government to punish a man who had fought

with him in the mosque about their church positions. I told these men that I had been watching Islam with interest, because I had read the Koran and gained the impression that all good Moslems were brothers. I told them that in my opinion the *imams* and *sultans* should be examples for the rest of the Mohammedans to follow. I said the rest of the world would not want to become Mohammedans if the *imams* and *sultans* murder each other, not for the glory of God but for their own selfish interests. These men were both quite impressed, and before they left, they said that they really did not intend to murder anybody.

Both the granting of independence and the calling for delegates to a constitutional convention, have produced a profound sensation in Lanao. The majority of the Moros were opposed to independence, but now that it has come, they are asking each other how they can make the most of it and avoid its dangers. They do not want to be subordinated to the Christian Filipinos, with whom they fought for so many years. Some Moros are talking revolution, but it is easy to persuade a great majority of them that the right road to freedom and progress is for them to learn to read and write, and then request the government to give them the status of a regular province. We have been travelling all over the province, meeting the *datos* and preaching this to them, and have found them not only willing listeners, but extremely eager to push the literacy campaign to a successful finish, so that they and all the other people may become voters.

This year the Philippine Legislature has granted the women the right to vote, and this has resulted in a new eagerness on the part of the Moro women to learn to read and write. The women's work has jumped to the front, and now is as vigorous and thrilling as the men's. We have had seven Moro girls teaching in various municipalities during the last two months, and everywhere they have gone, they have had long waiting lists. As to the ultimate and even speedy completion of our literacy campaign for this province, there seems to be no doubt—it is ever gaining

in power. Our chief perplexity now is to keep on hand enough literacy charts to supply the constantly rising demand. We had the charts mimeographed, but now have plates made, so that we can run off tens of thousands of these charts at one time.

The universal popularity of the literacy campaign has silenced all open criticism of our church, but we have not yet learned how to take advantage of the friendly attitude of the Moros. No Moro has yet been developed who can preach to them effectively, and I am not yet sufficiently proficient in their language to measure up to their standards of oratory.

A few of the Moro young men who are connected with our mission work attend the church service which we hold for Filipinos in English, but irregularly. They are sometimes taunted by other Moros, who say they will become *kafirs* or infidels. One of these young men, though still a Mohammedan in name, has caught our Christian view point and willingly accepted our invitation to occupy our pulpit on two occasions. Whether many Moros can be made to break so thoroughly with all their old customs and amalgamate with the Filipinos is very doubtful, or whether they should do so is equally doubtful in my own mind.

We believe the time has come when we must have religious services in the Maranaw language for the Moro people only, and are asking ourselves whether it will be necessary to westernize this service. Should we make our church look like a mosque, have a large drum (*tabu*) to call people to prayer, invite *panditas* and *imams* to share the service with us, have a place for washing their feet and hands before entering the church, and perhaps even use prayer rugs instead of chairs? To do this would require an almost superhuman wrench on the part of us westerners, who find it painful to take the kneeling position of the Moros. But would that not be the best approach? These are revolutionary ideas we are turning over in our minds. Possibly people in other parts of the world will give us light.

The Moros are very willing to hear the Gospel, if it does not force them to abandon their customs. They love to hear the reading of the *kitab* as read in the Maranaw translation, and would doubtless be thrilled to hear it in a service which resembled the Mohammedan services. There are some men who chant the Koran beautifully; this chanting they call *dikir* in this province. Indeed the chanting is more beautiful than any we produce in our church. Should not this new Maranaw service utilize the songs of those men?

As we have talked over this matter in our Sunday School, consisting of Christian Filipinos, the objection has been raised that this would seem to be a merging of the two religions. "And then", said the objector, "we would not know where we are. They might be converting us instead of our converting them."

We need to do a great deal of thinking through that question. Recently we visited Tugaya, the spot which has given the government the most trouble, and which is supposed to be the most fanatical. Nobody wanted to learn to read. One boy began to learn, but a *hajji* motioned him to stop, and the boy said to me: "That is bad, I will learn no more."

Hajji Pambaya and Hajji Matonding, who were my two companions, spent the next two hours proving to that *hajji* that it was good for them to learn Roman letters. At our invitation their best reader translated the story of Joseph from Arabic into Maranaw. When he had finished, I told him that we had that entire story translated into Maranaw with Roman letters and promised to bring it to them when we next visited them. Before we had finished, we had the entire assembly solidly back of us, and the *hajji* who had prevented the boy from learning wrung my hand as he said: "I give you my life"—the highest expression of loyalty the Moros know.

The possibilities of working in the homes of the Moro people along these lines seem to be limitless. There is nothing we have in our religion that they will not hear

gladly, if it is merged into their forms, and if it does not involve a complete break with their present customs.

The Christian Filipinos and Americans of our church are stimulating one another to serve our Moro brethren in every possible way. Scarcely a day passes when we do not take sick people to the hospital. We are constantly sought to help poor people with their troubles. We are helping to improve the quality of crops which the Moros raise. We are making suggestions as to how they can improve their art. We are interesting ourselves in any injury done the ignorant people in regard to their land and other matters. These efforts to help the neediest people have unquestionably touched the hearts of all the people to a greater or lesser extent. Recently when we were taking an old, feeble woman to the government office to help her get her rights, a *hajji* said: "We Moros would rather take a pretty young girl with us than to take a feeble, old, ugly woman, but I see what lies back of your action."

Lanao is a laboratory in which two interesting experiments are being tried. The first is in the realm of literacy. We have demonstrated that Mohammedans respond in an astonishing manner to the attempt to teach the people to read and write, even though we use Roman letters. What influence this will have upon the religion of the people who learn to read and write is something which the future will show.

In the second place we, along with many other missions in various parts of the world, are feeling our way to a sympathetic approach to the Moslems. We are starting with the common ground—a very large area—which we share with them; the fact that the first three of the Mohammedan holy Books—the Taurat, Zabur, and Injil,—together constitute our Christian Bible. This is one of a wide variety of experiments in effective approaches now being tried in many countries, and ought to be welcomed by the Christian world.

*Lanao, Philippine Islands.*

FRANK C. LAUBACH.

## “TO WHOM THEN WILL YE LIKEN GOD?”

### (A Tract on the Divinity of Christ)

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In July, 1930, *THE MOSLEM WORLD* published a dialogue I had written called “Abdullah”, which was designed to depict Jesus Christ as the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Servant of the Lord. That dialogue has since been published as a tract in a number of different Moslem languages. For several years I have been trying to find a way of commending Christ to Moslems as the Son of God. I now offer the following dialogue for consideration to readers of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* in order that I may have the benefit of their criticisms and suggestions before it is put out as a tract.

Those who have read the little tract called “Abdullah” will remember that Ahmad the Moslem, Jacob the Jew, and Abdul Masih the Christian, agreed together that they should meet again to continue their search for God. So it happened that one evening these three met outside their village and sat down beside a pond to talk. Ahmed began the conversation by asking Jacob to tell them some more about the prophet Isaiah of the Old Testament who had spoken about the Suffering Servant of the Lord.

*Jacob.* In those days there were many idolaters, and Isaiah poured scorn on their foolishness in carving an image of wood, plating it with gold, fixing it up with golden chains, and then saying it was a god. The prophet said, “Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? . . . To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto Him? (Isa. xl:12, 18).

*Ahmad.* True, very true, it is absurd to make the form of man or animal and to say that God is like that.

(At this moment the frogs in the pond began to croak so loudly that the friends could not hear one another speak. So they got up and walked off a little distance.)

*Abdul Masih.* It has been said, you know, that if the frogs had enough intelligence to think about God, they would picture God to themselves as like a very big frog.

*Jacob.* No doubt they would, and small blame to them. I suppose to a frog’s mind the frog is the noblest and most beautiful of creatures.

(As he spoke, a large frog waddled across the path in front of them, and they all laughed.)

*Abdul Masih.* Yes, strange as it may seem to us, that is their standard of excellence and beauty; so that if the frogs could conceive at all of a God He could only be a Being whose nature was something like that of a frog.

*Ahmad.* Fortunately, we, being men endowed with intelligence, would not do such a thing.

*Jacob.* No indeed. It would be unworthy for us, who are so much higher than the animals, to liken God to an animal. But you would admit, would you not, that many people have thought of God as a big man, just as the frogs might think of Him as a big frog.

*Ahmad.* Yes, that is true. Primitive man generally thought of God as a big man, and some tribes thought that the tribal God was their ancestor. But, you see, as men have grown more civilized they have given up that elementary idea, and have exalted God far and away above any creature.

*Jacob.* Quite so, so you might almost divide the higher religions from the lower religions according to the distance to which they exalt God above men.

*Abdul Masih.* Yes, we are obliged to exalt God to the highest limit that our minds can conceive. But do not forget that every religion models God on man, even if they exalt God above men.

*Ahmad.* There I must disagree. In Islam, God is quite different from man.

*Abdul Masih.* Well, what would you say God is like?

*Ahmad.* He is like nothing we know. To begin with, He is so powerful He can sustain the world and move the stars in their courses.

*Abdul Masih.* That is just my point. You are describing Him with the qualities of a champion athlete, only He is able to do more than any athlete we know.

*Ahmad.* He is the all-seeing, so that "He can see the movements of a black ant on a black rock in the darkest night", and the secret thoughts of the hearts of men.

*Abdul Masih.* That power is of course beyond anything we know amongst men, and yet it is obviously conceived after the fashion of a clear-sighted and perspicacious man.

*Ahmad.* He foreordains everything that happens, and nothing happens without His ordaining it.

*Abdul Masih.* Surely that, too, is conceived after the fashion of a man. We read for instance of the patriarch Joseph, when Pharaoh set him over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh said to him, "Without thee shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt" (Gen. xli:44).

*Ahmad.* I admit that in practice you are right, for we do actually in practice speak of God in human terms. Whatever terms we use in speaking of God are borrowed from the language we use about men, because we cannot speak except in human language.

*Abdul Masih.* That is so. The words of human languages were framed by men to express the thoughts that pass through human minds. When therefore we begin to discourse upon God, we are using an instrument devised for a lower purpose, and it is only as we proceed further that the instrument of language is made more perfect for its high task.

*Ahmad.* On the other hand we Moslems are taught to believe that between God and temporal things there is no sort of similarity in any point whatsoever.

*Abdul Masih.* Look at it this way. Whatsoever things we recognize in men as good, whether mercy or justice or beauty, were created by God. They had their origin in the mind of God. Now if the mind of God is capable of entertaining thoughts of beauty, justice, and mercy, He Himself must be beautiful, just, and merciful.

*Ahmad.* You mean, then, that we must either speak of God in human language, as if He were a man, or remain altogether silent about Him?

*Abdul Masih.* Yes, and even when prophets of old declared the things of God, seeing that the prophets spoke in human language, their hearers could only understand the words in their human sense.

*Ahmad.* How then did men ever arrive at a more worthy conception of God?

*Abdul Masih.* By selection of the best and noblest characteristics. In olden days, the strongest man in the tribe made himself the king of the tribe. The people wished to have the strongest man as their king, that he might save them from their enemies. So they called their king their benefactor, and regarded him as the best of men. When therefore they thought of God they conceived of Him as a king, as exceedingly brave and strong. They selected, as it were, the characteristics of the strongest of strong kings in the prime of their strength, and attributed them to God as His unchangeable characteristics.

*Ahmad.* In that they did right well. We often speak of God as king, and in so doing we express the magnificence and dignity that belong to the Most High. If we must find a human parallel to describe His greatness, we cannot do better than think of the great sovereigns and conquerors of mankind, of Solomon, of Alexander the Great, and of Napoleon, of the splendor of royal courts and the glory of their victories.

*Abdul Masih.* But do you really think that those kings were

the best of men? Solomon treated his people so harshly, making them toil in building for him the temple of God and all his royal palaces, that after his death half his people rebelled and would not have any man of Solomon's house to rule over them. Think of the bloodshed that was caused by Alexander and by Napoleon, and of the wars that followed as their heritage after they had died. Who can say that these were the best of men, and the benefactors of our race?

*Jacob.* I think that prophets ought to be reckoned as greater than kings, for they have stood up for righteousness, and often a prophet has been brave enough to rebuke the king for his wickedness and injustice. So that, even though in the sight of men a prophet may be less powerful than a king, yet he is a greater benefactor to those who follow after.

*Ahmad.* Yes, prophets and saints both deserve to be placed amongst the greatest of men, for prophets are they who have received and declared the word of God, while saints are they who keep the word of God and practise it in their lives.

*Jacob.* In our last conversation we were speaking of the Servant of the Lord, of whom the prophet Isaiah wrote, and we agreed that one who lived such a life of service was worthy of being regarded as the highest example to men.

*Abdul Masih.* Yes, and you will remember that our Lord Jesus the Messiah lived a life of service and suffering just as was spoken of by Isaiah.

*Ahmad.* We Moslems greatly reverence Jesus for the beauty of his life. One of our great Sufis, Ibn al-Arabi, said of him, "Surely the seal of the saints is an apostle; and in the world he has no equal. He is the Spirit and the Son of the Spirit, and Mary is his mother." I myself must admit that it would be hard to find a human character more beautiful than that of Jesus.

*Jacob.* We Jews of course regard Jesus as one of our prophets, and admit that in both his life and teaching he did not fall behind any of our other prophets.

*Abdul Masih.* I see that you both agree that Jesus is amongst the greatest saints that have ever lived, even if you are not prepared to agree with me that he is the greatest of all. Now my point is this, that since we have to conceive of God in terms of the highest standard we know, we should begin by thinking of the character of Jesus.

*Ahmad.* I would rather say that we should begin by thinking of the teaching of Jesus than of his character.

*Abdul Masih.* By that I suppose you mean that the teaching of Jesus excelled what he actually attained in his life?

*Ahmad.* Yes certainly. It is always the case that a man conceives higher ideals than he attains to.

*Abdul Masih.* That is so with all other men, and our failure to reach our own ideals gives us the sense of sin. But Jesus was unconscious of any sin in himself. Both the Bible and the Koran testify that he was without sin.

*Jacob.* The foolish and ignorant are often ignorant of their sinfulness. But for a good man to be unconscious of sin in himself is a truly remarkable thing.

*Abdul Masih.* It is remarkable indeed. But all the same it is true that in the story of the life of Jesus you can find no difference between what he taught and what he practiced. It was for this reason that St. Paul, who had no ideals higher than the teaching and the life of Jesus, spoke of him as the image of the invisible God (Col. 1:15).

*Ahmad.* The use of images is idolatry.

*Abdul Masih.* Yes, the use of images, graven or molten by the hand of man, is idolatry, because it circumscribes the conception of the divinity within the narrow limits of a material object, whereas God is a living Spirit. But Jesus is not a dead material image, but is himself Spirit. Even the Koran itself, as you know, speaks of him as a Spirit from God (Surat an-Nisa, iv:169). Will not then a Spirit from God be a faithful image of Him?

*Jacob.* Yes, and one of our Jewish prophets, looking forward to the coming of Christ, spoke of him as Immanuel, which in our Hebrew language means "God with us." Surely if one of the names of Christ means that God is with us, we can learn of God through what we see in Jesus.

*Ahmad.* I can understand that God may be seen through the eyes of Jesus; but I cannot understand how the Christians dare to call him the Son of God.

*Abdul Masih.* For centuries Moslems have asked that question, Why do the Christians call Christ the Son of God? But it was not Christians who first gave him that name, as you can very well see if you examine the Gospel.

*Jacob.* Who was it then? Surely not a Jew?

*Abdul Masih.* It was the angel Gabriel who said to Mary, "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God" (Luke i:35).<sup>1</sup> Notice the repetition of the word "holy". It is because of Christ's origin as from the Holy Spirit of God that he himself is holy, and it is because of his holiness that he is called by this name which implies affinity with God the all-holy. By giving Jesus this name, the angel Gabriel was

<sup>1</sup> Note to translators: (1) This translation of the Revised Version should be followed, even though, as in the case of Urdu, it may mean departing from the current version. (2) The word "holy" should be translated in the two places by the same word; if the form *Ruh ul-Quds* is used it should be followed in parenthesis by the words "i. e., the holy Spirit", using the ordinary word for "holy".

pointing to the identity of character between Jesus and the heavenly Father, for as the character of a human father is seen in the character of his son; so the holy and pure character of God is seen in the holiness and purity of Christ.

*Ahmad.* Did the Christians immediately adopt this name that the angel had used?

*Abdul Masih.* No. So astounding was this message that Mary dared tell no one, but she kept all the sayings of the angel, pondering them in her heart (Luke ii:19). Probably she would never have dared to repeat the saying if God Himself had not used the same name.

*Ahmad.* God Most High? How and when?

*Abdul Masih.* Twice. The first occasion was at the beginning of the ministry of Jesus. John the Baptist was dipping people in the river Jordan as a sign of the washing away of their sins. Jesus also came to be baptized, not because he was a sinner, for, as we have said, he was without sin; but, as he explained, "to fulfill all righteousness"; for Jesus knew that the kingdom of God could only come on earth on the basis of righteousness. Therefore Jesus was baptised with the baptism of repentance that we might follow his example by turning away from sin and seeking righteousness. Immediately afterwards the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove and coming upon him; and lo, a voice out of the heavens saying, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii:13-17).

*Jacob.* Who heard the heavenly voice?

*Abdul Masih.* Primarily it seems to have been intended for Christ himself as an assurance that his adoption of righteousness and holiness as the basis of his work was in accordance with the character of the heavenly Father. The voice may have been heard by John the Baptist and others who were present, but that is not made quite clear by the narrative.

*Ahmad.* You said there was a second occasion when God spoke of Christ as His Son. When was that?

*Abdul Masih.* One day Jesus took with him Peter and John and James, and went up into the mountain to pray. And as he was praying, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment became white and dazzling. And behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elijah, who appeared in glory and spake of his departure from this world which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem. Now Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep; but when they were fully awake they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him. . . . And a voice came out of the cloud saying, "This is my Son, my chosen; hear ye him" (Luke ix. 28-36).

*Ahmad.* That is a strange story, and strangest of all that the subject of their conversation should be the coming departure of Jesus from the world.

*Jacob.* That I think I can explain. It was meet and right that our great lawgiver Moses and the prophet Elijah should appear at that time and discuss with him the manner of his departure from the world, because the departure of both these two men was extraordinary. Moses, after having led our fathers for many years in the wilderness, brought them as far as in view of the promised land. At the commandment of God, Moses went up into a high mountain from which he could see all the extent of the promised land, north and south and west. And there Moses died, and no one knows his burial place to this day (Deut. xxxiv:1-6).

*Abdul Masih.* Moses indeed believed the promise of God, but did not enter into it, God having provided some better thing for the future, that those who had believed His promises of old should with us enjoy the fulfilment of those promises in Christ Jesus (compare Heb. xi:40).

*Jacob.* The departure of Elijah was even more extraordinary. For when the appointed time had come he went with his disciple Elisha, and suddenly there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven (2 Kings ii:11).

*Ahmad.* And do you suppose that it was on account of the strange manner of their departure from this earth that Moses and Elijah were discussing with Jesus his coming departure?

*Jacob.* Yes I do, for his departure was stranger even than theirs. For remember that his death on the cross was followed within three days by his resurrection to life immortal. I call to mind some verses written by an ancient Jew as follows:—

“But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,  
And no torment shall touch them.

In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died;  
And their departure was accounted to be their hurt,  
And their journeying away from us to be their ruin:  
But they are in peace.

For even if in the sight of men they be punished,  
Their hope is full of immortality” (Wisd. Sol. iii:1-4).

*Abdul Masih.* Those beautiful words apply to all righteous men. But the death of Christ was unique, in that he who was without sin went willingly to the death for the sake of the salvation of men. By his death he abolished death and brought life and incorruption to light (2 Tim. i:10).

*Ahmad.* Never again can I think of the death of Jesus without calling to mind that prophecy of the Servant of the Lord of which

we spoke before, "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed" (Isa. liii:5).

*Abdul Masih.* Yes, indeed. It is the noblest conception of love that ever entered into the heart of man. As Jesus spoke with Moses and Elijah about his coming crucifixion, which meant his acceptance of the rôle of the Servant of the Lord, he showed himself the true image of the Father. The love of God for man has never been so perfectly pictured as in that scene when men were nailing Jesus to the cross and he prayed for them, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." No wonder then that at that moment on the mountain, when he had resolved to face the cross, the Father claimed him as His Son indeed: "This is my Son, my chosen; hear ye him."

*Ahmad.* Your explanation of the term Son of God shows me clearly that there is no justification for the gross and carnal interpretation so often put upon it by those who do not understand. But I still do not quite see how you can escape the charge of dishonoring God by giving Him a partner.

*Abdul Masih.* As regards the charge that we give God a partner I can answer easily. We believe firmly that there is only one God. But the life and activities of God are manifold, and, though we cannot probe into the mystery of the inner being of God, we can recognize various distinct activities on His part. He has ever been willing to express Himself to men. That expression of Himself we call the Word of God; and when we say that Jesus was the Word of God we mean that through Jesus God expressed Himself to men. Throughout the life and death and resurrection of Jesus we learn what manner of love the Father has towards us, and how He is working out our redemption from sin and our eternal salvation.

*Ahmad.* But how do you escape from the charge of dishonoring God when you call Jesus Christ the Word of God or the Son of God as if he was one with God.

*Abdul Masih.* Consider what is meant by honor and dishonor. What sort of man would you consider the most highly honored?

*Ahmad.* At the beginning of our conversation I was inclined to think that those men are most worthy of honor who are most successful in the world, the great conquerors of the world like Chingiz Khan and Alexander the Great, and the business men who amass fortunes and become millionaires. But now, by thinking of the life of Jesus, I am inclined to think that the most honorable of men are those who have best served their fellows, those for instance who have discovered the cure for diseases, those who fought against slavery, those who have helped to uplift the poor and depressed from their

degradation, even though they themselves lived in poverty and were not praised in their lifetime.

*Abdul Masih.* Would you then agree that that man is most highly to be honored who devoted all his riches to the service of men? What would you say of a king who laid aside his royal robes and cared nothing for his royal dignity, that he might help the poorest of his people?

*Ahmad.* I would agree that such a man was the most worthy of honor, and most worthy of our imitation.

*Abdul Masih.* Listen then to the words of St. Paul, "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. ii:5-11).

*Ahmad.* I am amazed, but it is true. For if the honor of an earthly king is enhanced where he lays aside his insignia of royalty and stoops to humble service, God's honor will be increased if He too can stoop, as Jesus stooped, to seek and to save men that are lost.

*Abdul Masih.* Even to us Christians it is an amazing thought that God Most High can stoop to save. Yet if man is seen to be greatest when he stoops to help another, shall we withhold this greatness from God?

*Jacob.* There is a passage in our Scriptures which has been often misunderstood; but those who know our Hebrew language best say that it ought to be translated thus: "He became to them a Saviour in all their affliction. Not an ambassador, nor a messenger, but His Presence saved them. In His love and in His pity He redeemed them" (Isa. lxiii:8-9, following the Hebrew consonantal text and the Greek version).

*Abdul Masih.* Those are true words. It is the glory and honor of God that He came Himself to redeem mankind, and did not merely send a messenger or ambassador. Therefore when we say that Jesus Christ is the Lord to whom every knee should bend in worship, we are not dishonoring God the Father, but we are giving Him that honor and glory which are His due.

The friends stood in silence thinking of the glory of God seen in the face of Jesus Christ. Then from over the hill they heard the sound of music and singing, and this is the hymn they heard:—

"Praise to the Holiest in the height,  
And in the depth be praise;  
In all His words most wonderful,  
Most sure in all His ways.

O loving wisdom of our God!  
When all was sin and shame,  
A second Adam to the fight  
And to the rescue came.

O wisest love! that flesh and blood,  
Which did in Adam fail,  
Should strive afresh against the foe,  
Should strive and should prevail;

And that a higher gift than grace  
Should flesh and blood refine,  
God's Presence and His very Self,  
And essence all divine.

O generous love! that He, who smote  
In man for man the foe,  
The double agony in man  
For man should undergo;

And in the garden secretly,  
And on the cross on high,  
Should teach His brethren, and inspire  
To suffer and to die.

Praise to the Holiest in the height,  
And in the depth be praise;  
In all His words most wonderful,  
Most sure in all His ways."

*Lahore, India*

LAURENCE E. BROWNE.

## A MOSLEM SHRINE IN BUDA<sup>1</sup>

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The Hungarian newspapers have recently given much publicity to a project which has a great interest for all those who desire the evangelization of Mohammedans. The project is to erect a *medrase* (school) in the capital of Hungary. The costs of building this school have been partly contributed by several Mohammedan rulers of Asiatic countries, and there is a plan for a world-wide collection among the Mohammedans to raise the rest of the expenses. One of the leaders of this movement is Fuad, the King of Egypt. The Mohammedan Committee, which resides in Geneva, wishes to levy a tax on all Mohammedans of the world to raise about 40,000 francs.

One missionary field of Mohammedanism seems to be the civilized Western world. That is the reason for their desire to set their foot again in Budapest, the farthest point west which they, in the course of history, at one time held. Budapest would be the natural basis for their missionary operations and westward progress. They have already begun their propaganda in Hungary, and the chief aim of the *medrase* in Buda will be to train missionaries.

There is another reason for erecting this *medrase* in Buda. During the Turkish occupation of Hungary there lived in Buda a Mohammedan saint, Gül Baba, whose grave and shrine still stand on the Eastern slope of the Rózsadomb in Buda. The Moslem world wishes to revive the memory of this ancient saint by erecting a Mosque and school over his grave.

The hundred-and-fifty-year-long Turkish reign offered to Hungarian Christianity, which had been then re-

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<sup>1</sup> Budapest, the capital of Hungary consists of two parts, Buda and Pest. Buda is on the Western, Pest on the Eastern bank of the Danube.

baptized with the fire of Reformation, a precious opportunity to fulfil the missionary command of our Lord. The coincidence of the Hungarian Reformation and of the Turkish occupation was providential in pointing out to the Hungarian Evangelical Christians their real mission field. Unfortunately, Hungarian Christianity failed to make full use of this priceless opportunity. There are indications that some Christians of those days realized their duty to preach the Gospel to the Mohammedans in their midst, but the Churches as bodies either failed or were unable to fulfil their missionary task. Hungary was the bulwark of Western civilization, but she had just enough power to hold her position on the defensive, and was not able to bring the claims of Jesus Christ before the Mohammedans.

The Turks seem to have thought of settling down in Hungary for good. In Buda they built numerous mosques and baths; even the Christian churches were turned into mosques. Buda soon had twenty-one congregational mosques with *mihrábs*, sixteen smaller ones and seven *medrases*. The teachers of the *medrases* were called from Constantinople. There were also about six *mektebs* in Buda which correspond to the modern grammar schools. Pest also had two *medrases*, but owing to the small number of students, these were discontinued. There were five large mosques, six smaller ones and three flourishing grammar schools in Pest. The slopes of the Buda hills were covered with Moslem monasteries. Pest also had three or four of these. Wherever the Turks settled, monasteries of various begging, dancing and howling dervishes sprang into existence. When the Turks were driven out of Hungary, the Hungarians, for obvious reasons, regarded it as their first task to destroy everything which reminded them of their "Babylonian captivity." Hence the scarcity of Turkish remains in Hungary. These are: a Roman Catholic church in Pécs which was originally a mosque, with a crescent on its steeple under the cross; a minaret in the courtyard of the University Clinics in the same town; a minaret in the town of Eger; remains of several Turkish

baths in Buda; and on the Eastern slope of the Rózsadomb in Buda there is a little towerlike structure, the tomb of Gül Baba, the Moslem saint.

Two contemporary historians furnish us with very vague and contradictory information concerning Gül Baba's tomb.

Evlia Chelebi, a Turkish historian, who had been for some time in Buda, informs us in his book, which is translated into Hungarian, that there was in Soliman's escort a Bektashi dervish<sup>2</sup> by the name of Gül Baba who died in Buda. "He was a man of saintly life, descended from the Prophet's family. When he died, two hundred thousand Turkish soldiers prayed over him, and his coffin was carried by Soliman himself." Beyond this all we know about him is that, according to some vague references, he was born in Merzifun of Szivász Ejálet. He was present at the occupation of Buda and when he said his first Friday prayer in the large mosque he died. Since Chelebi in another part of his book says that "he gave up his spirit on the hill of Gül Baba," we may infer that the above mentioned mosque must have been attached to the monastery of the Bektashi dervishes on the Rózsadomb, which hill was only later, after the saint's death, called Gül Baba's Hill. This assumption is confirmed by the book of G. Wernher,<sup>3</sup> who writes: "Mohammed pasha, Commander of Buda, built dervish houses and monasteries at the thermal baths and he erected on the hill beside the upper thermal bath a chapel, thereby dedicating this place to the memory of that monk who, while still living, was regarded by the Turks as a superior being, and after his death, buried in that chapel, is venerated as a saint."

Chelebi describes quite extensively the monastery of the Bektash dervishes on the Rózsadomb. He states that the monastery was erected from a fund donated by Gázi Mikhálgáde and adds that the amount of this fund exceeded the endowments of the other monasteries.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly known as dancing dervishes. The Bektash dervishes were monks as well as soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> *Wernheri Georgii consil. reg. et apud Saros praefecti: De admirandis Hungariae aquis Hypomnemation etc.* MDLI. Viennae.

The building, he says, is situated outside the Khorosz Gate, near the bath of Veli Bég, on a vine-covered hill. Its inmates are pious warriors, commonly called dancing dervishes. There is a larger room in the monastery for their peculiar whirling dances. The room is equipped with chandeliers, rush lights, lamps, incense burners and rose-water holders. The monastic life of the Bektashi dervishes is spent in self-torture. During their dances and on other occasions they burn their flesh with hot iron and cut it with scissors or other sharp instruments. The greater pain they inflict on themselves the higher stage of saintliness they hope to attain. Although their monasteries are richly endowed they never fail to commend and practice poverty. The inmates of the monastery on the Rózsadomb also, although their house is abundantly endowed, gladly practise charity, giving poor travelers shelter and alms. These traveling dervishes, in memory of their sojourn in the monastery, often carved little inscriptions in the marble walls of the monastery. Chelebi himself commemorated his visit by the following verses:

"I am thy admirer and follower, I visited thee as a beggar  
and I am lamenting like a nightingale, O Gül Baba!

O thou, rose of the rose-garden of righteousness and  
uprighteousness,

Thou, the saintliest of saints, Gül Baba of Buda.

O thou, mine of Sultanic mercy, Baba,

The old beggar is not turned away with empty hands,

The stranger from Merzifun, Gül Baba,

Found home here in the days of Soliman, the Shah."

The facts about Gül Baba's life are so vague and uncertain that it is impossible to tell which version of the story is authentic.

Arminius Vámbéry, a Hungarian Orientalist, on one of his Asiatic travels, met a Mohammedan monk who told him that Gül Baba's original name was Sheik Zeki, a begging dervish who died at eighty, or, according to others, at one hundred and twenty years of age. He spent his life in constant pilgrimages and traveled twenty-four times across the Mohammedan world. He was an adept in cleanliness,

and that is why he was given the name Gül Baba, Father of Roses, the rose being the symbol of purity. Ignatius Kunos tried to solve the problem of Gül Baba's person by analysing his name. He thought that the man's original name was Kel Baba,—Kel means bald-headed—which name was, by the later usage of the language, identified with Gül Baba. There is another explanation,—and this is the prevailing one—that Gül Baba was a saintly dervish who grew roses and made attar of roses. This theory seems to be supported by the fact that the hill on which Gül Baba's monastery stood and where his tomb is still found is called Rózsadomb, which is the Hungarian for "Hill of Roses."

E. Brown, an English physician, who visited Buda in 1669-70 and recorded his experiences in a book,<sup>4</sup> asserts that Gül Baba was not the name of a person, but that of an office. The head or prior of the monastery in Buda was always called Jul Papa or Gül Baba.

On the other hand, Giovanni Paolo Zenarolla, who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thinks that Gül Baba was not a dervish, but a pious old Mohammedan who founded a monastery for sixty dervishes.

There is one more conjecture which makes the maze of hoary legends still more intricate, and this is the remark of a German historian, Von Hammer<sup>5</sup> who states that not Gül Baba, but Kalaikof Ali Pasha is buried on a hill among the vineyards and "his grave is still visited by the Turks, who regard it as the grave of Gül Baba, the 'Father of Roses,' who died for his faith as a martyr in the holy warfare." Von Hammer's view is that Gül Baba was buried near Drinapolis on the roadside in the direction of Bujukderbend, and it is but a pious legend that his grave is in Buda. This theory contradicts Wernher's view, although the latter is more plausible, since it is impossible that Gül Baba's contemporaries were so profoundly mistaken.

The date of Gül Baba's death and of the *türbe's* erection can be accurately ascertained from the data contained in Wernher's book. Wernher states that Mohammed

<sup>4</sup> E. Brown: *Account of Several Travels in Hungaria, Servia, etc.*, London, 1673.

<sup>5</sup> Von Hammer: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*. Volume IV, p. 103.

Jahjapasazáde, Pasha of Buda, erected a memorial to Gül Baba on the hill beside the upper thermal bath. Since Mohammed Jahjapasazáde held the office of *váli* in Buda from 1543 to 1548, the shrine must have been built during this period, and as the Mohammedans, as a rule, do not wait long after the death of a prominent man to erect his memorial, we may safely assume that Gül Baba's death must have taken place during the period of 1543-48.

When the Turks were driven out of Buda and the Peace Treaty of Passarovitz was made, one of the articles was that the City Council of Buda undertook to keep the *türbe* of Gül Baba in good repair, to open it to the Mohammedan pilgrims and to protect them.

In 1689 the *türbe* was converted by the Jesuits into a Christian chapel. Today the building shows no traces of this remodelling, but there are pictures from the first decade of the eighteenth century which show a cross on the top of the building. The *türbe* was the property of the Jesuits from 1686, and it became private property in 1773. In the last century the building was bought by a certain architect, Wagner, and when he signed the deed of sale, he was summoned to the City Hall of Buda, where the note of Count Eszterházy, Palatine of Hungary, was read to him, which, on the ground of the Peace Treaty of Passarovitz, obliges the City to take care of the *türbe*, and to give free entrance to Mohammedan pilgrims. Wagner had to assume the responsibility to fulfill these obligations.

Up to the end of the last century several Moslems visited the shrine each year. These pilgrims were always welcomed by certain Roman Catholic monastic orders, especially by the Piarists. However, the behavior of their pilgrims often contradicted their pious profession. In spite of their Moslem faith they freely indulged in spirituous liquors and the *türbe* often became the scene of scandals. This seems to have prompted the request of the Turkish Consulate to the Hungarian Minister of Interior to forbid the pilgrims to Gül Baba's grave. As a result the *türbe* was closed to Mohammedan pilgrims in 1877. Since

that time the little *türbe* has been doomed to oblivion. Wagner, the former proprietor of the building, erected a colonnade around the *türbe*, the style of which is somewhat out of harmony with the Oriental character of the original shrine. The shrine itself has the shape of an octagonal prism, built of limestone, its front facing south. The roof is an octagonal pyramidal tower covered with lead. Unfortunately, the former proprietor covered the roof with shingles, which spoiled its appearance. The little windows are arched in Moorish style.

As to the interior of the *türbe*, Gül Baba's coffin has long since disappeared. According to contemporary descriptions many interesting relics were hung on the walls, such as flags, swords and daggers, and there was a precious opaque crystal in the *türbe* with quotations from the Koran carved on it.

Since the pilgrims who came from Constantinople were always surprisingly well informed as to the location and furnishings of the *türbe*, there is no reason to doubt their statement that there is an accurate description of the shrine in Constantinople.

In the summer of 1877 a deputation led by Sheikh Soliman visited the shrine, bringing a heavy black cover, richly embroidered with gold, for the coffin of Gül Baba. As they did not find the coffin, they hung the cover on the wall.

At the end of the last century the shrine was plundered by unidentified robbers, who expected to find precious Oriental jewels. Since that time the damaged interior has been restored and new Koran quotations were hung on the walls. Recently the congregation of the Mohammedans in Hungary has been organized, and the care of the *türbe* was assigned to their leader, Abdul Latif Effendi. The Moslems of Budapest gather here once or twice a year for worship. Today the interior furnishing of the shrine consists of a few Koran quotations, of a wooden coffin which marks the place of the grave, and of a green turban on the tombstone.

*Budapest*

LADISLAS DRASKÖCZY.

## THE MOSLEM DOCTRINE OF REVELATION AND ISLAMIC PROPAGANDA <sup>1</sup>

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There is an interval of only nine months between this edition and the first edition of the book by the well-known editor of the magazine *al-Manar*. At the end of the volume (pp. 293-335) there is a collection of letters and flattering reviews by important personages of the Moslem world, like the Imam of Yamen, the King of Saoudi Arabia, the rector of the Azhar, the Imam of the Ibadite sect, and others. This success is easily explained: the author is well versed in the material, and besides he is a skilful propagandist.

The purpose is double: first, a statement of the Moslem doctrine of the revelation of the Koran and of the character of this book; second, the comparison of this subject with the Bible. The result of this comparison, as one can easily guess, is direct Islamic propaganda, embracing other matters more or less distant from the subject, such as the caliphate, democracy, the position of women, marriage, slavery, etc. The author does not need to apologize for this expansion: he has prepared the reader for it by the sub-title of the book: "propaganda among civilised people, of Islam, the religion of human brotherhood and salvation."

Though our position is different from that of the Moslem reader, this book is less laborious than one would suppose from its propagandist character. This is explained by two causes. The first is that the tone of the book is never irritating or irritated. The author complains, and rightfully so, of the erroneous or blasphemous judgments made by Christians upon Islam and its founder. He, on his side, avoids anything which could offend his Christian readers, his attitude being due in part to the esteem which the religions "of the Book" enjoy in Islam.

The second reason is that the author has the Bible in his hands. As long as the Orient continues to judge Christianity by the "Christians", that is to say European politics, materialism, or such other works of the devil, one can hardly expect better relations, which must be based on a knowledge of Christianity itself, in practice and in theory—a knowledge which, in its turn, could not be complete or profound without study or serious reading of the Bible. It is not surprising that the author does not know how to treat "the two Testaments" in a satisfactory manner, his attitude—aside from his individual knowledge—being warped by the doctrine of falsification, of which we shall speak presently.

The book is composed of five chapters, which treat the following subjects: I. Revelation and prophecy (pp. 22-33); II. Prophecy of Mohammed (pp. 34-58); III. Inspiration (*al-Wahy al-nafsi*);

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<sup>1</sup> (*al-Wahy al-muhammadi*). By Saiyid Muhammad Rashid Rida, deuxième ed., le Caire, 1352.

the calling of Mohammed according to tradition, refutation of the theory of inspiration (pp. 59-106). IV. Superiority of the Koran (pp. 107-129); V. Principles of the Koran, ten in number: the basis of religion; the prophets; Islam, natural religion, the religion of reason, etc.; human salvation, social, political, and patriotic; the law of Islam; Islam and the State; Islam and finance; Islam and war; Islam and women; Islam and slavery (pp. 130-291). A discussion of all these subjects, most of which are of great interest in the attitude of Islam, would fill a whole number of THE MOSLEM WORLD. We are obliged to limit ourselves to those which form the basis of the book. Let us begin with the doctrine of revelation, opposed to inspiration (*wahy nafsi*), which the author rejects.

I. According to the well-known orthodox doctrine, the verses of the Koran, written on the Preserved Table, were transmitted integrally and literally to Mohammed by the Holy Spirit, that is to say, the Archangel Gabriel. It is—*mutatis mutandis*—the doctrine of mechanical inspiration, applied to the Bible by Christian theology for hundreds of years. This doctrine received a serious blow when the cosmology of antiquity and of the middle ages was forced to surrender before the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo. The Church has struggled for a long time against the new system, but has finally recognized that the Bible expresses itself in terms which bear the stamp of the time of its origin. This first shock to mechanical inspiration was followed by others caused by discoveries and more exact chronological computations, as well as by internal facts, e. g., the correction which St. Paul applies to his own preceding words (I Cor. 1:14, 16), or the request relative to his forgotten cloak, (II Tim. 4:13), subjects which scarcely seemed to agree with divine revelation.

These reasons and others led Christian theology, except for a small minority, to adopt the doctrine according to which the books of Holy Scripture were composed by men directed by the Holy Spirit, but who expressed themselves in the language of their time and who consequently were not entirely free from errors.

Our author, far from agreeing with such a theory of the origin of the Koran, combats the supposition that Mohammed should have received part of his knowledge by the intermediary of Jews and Christians who lived in Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century, the content of the Koran coming to him by celestial and literal revelation.

One can not deny the value of possessing a book absolutely conforming to what God has written on a celestial Table without any human interference. But this doctrine of the origin of the Koran faces difficulties analogous to those which caused the ruin of the doctrine of mechanical inspiration of the Bible. No doubt these difficulties are still greater in the case of the Koran, for this reason: from time to time Mohammed was obliged to abrogate verses of the Koran containing ordinances which had proved defective or troublesome. Exegesis of the Koran reveals a number of verses abrogated in order to be replaced by a corrected wording, which is sometimes found in the Koran, sometimes in tradition. The Koran itself has given its sanction to this action, in so far as it was a matter of replacing a verse by another verse, in Sūra II, 100:

"We have not abrogated or caused a verse to be forgotten without replacing it by a better verse or one equally as good." Thus the theory of abrogation has obtained a recognized place in Moslem theology.

In other cases the doctrine of mechanical revelation of the Koran clashes with objections of the same sort as those mentioned for the Bible. The "family quarrels" forming the basis of certain Koranic texts scarcely appear of a more divine nature than the forgotten cloak of Paul.

The author has omitted any mention of the method of abrogation, *al-nasikh wa'l-mansukh*, as it is called in technical language; perhaps a third printing of his book will give him the opportunity to fill this gap.

II. The difficulty of the dilemma is easily understood. The recognition that it is not God Himself, but Mohammed who would need to correct texts of legislation, touches upon another dogma, which the author has treated amply (pp. 34-58): the prophecy of Mohammed, i. e., his infallibility, as a complement of the revelations received by him.

We know, moreover, that infallibility, according to the Moslem dogma, as it has formed itself in the course of the centuries, is not exclusively the privilege of Mohammed, but that he shares it with all the prophets, who number more than 200,000. The Koran applies the term prophet to a category of persons among whom one seeks in vain the prophets of the Old Testament, with the exception of Jonah. The explanation of this remarkable fact is that the Koran, and, later, Moslem theology, follow the Hellenistic custom in conferring the rank of prophets in the first place to illustrious Biblical personages: the patriarchs, David, Solomon, Zacharias, and his son Saint John the Baptist.

We see at first glance that only ignorance of history could declare infallible people who in large measure were great sinners, in spite of their notable piety. Adam, Jacob, Lot, David, Solomon, and Jonah committed serious sins, which dominated the course of their lives and which evoked severe censure from their contemporaries, prophets sent by God to reproach them for their faults.

The echo of these stories is not entirely unknown in the Moslem world. In canonic tradition and in the most ancient forms of the *credo* one does not find the least indication of the infallibility of the prophets; on the contrary, in the story of the intercession at the Last Judgment, which is found in Bukhari and other canonic collections, the prophets previous to Mohammed all excuse themselves when they are requested to intervene with the Judge of the world, some of them, like Adam, Abraham, and Moses admitting the well-known sins of which they realize that they are guilty.

The dogma of infallibility, subsequent to the collections of canonic traditions, weakened the witness of these texts, which theoretically are in a class with the Koran. The dogma, often hostile to history, has prevailed in this case. The need that was experienced of declaring Mohammed the prophet infallible, has carried away its 200,000 or more predecessors, known or unknown.

III. Nevertheless, one cannot say, even if dogma alone had not succeeded in obscuring history without the aid of the doctrine of

*tahrif*, knowing the Koran, that the content of the Old and New Testaments has been falsified. One could call this belief the buckler of Islam against Christianity. For if, according to Moslem doctrine, these books, as well as the Koran, were written by God on the celestial Table, and if in the Bible Jesus Christ does not cease to call himself not a prophet, but "the way, the truth and the life", the son of God and the Christ—there is only one way to escape the difficulty: it is precisely to declare the Bible in its present state falsified.

The term *tahrif* is already found in the Koran, where it serves to cut short the objections raised by the Jews and the Christians of Medina against the use of Biblical data by Mohammed. The exegesis of this Koranic term accepted among Orientalists is the following: Mohammed felt in regard to his pagan compatriots as the Biblical prophets did in the face of their contemporaries. He had called on holy history to lighten his own situation and to justify his vocation. Having come to Medina, he was undeceived by the negative and unfriendly attitude of the Jews and Christians, who were in possession of sacred books which he could not read and which severely criticized the manner in which he treated the content of these books. He saw himself in a dead-lock, from which there was only one way to escape. This way was to accuse the Jews of using falsified Scriptures.

This accusation had important consequences for the relations between Christianity and Islam. It has been generalized, in one way or another, by Moslem theologians, so that the Bible, declared false, has played no direct rôle in Moslem thought. And there is a reason. Concessions to the veracity of the Bible could have dangerous consequences for the general position of Islam as against Christianity.

The author declares his adherence to the doctrine of *tahrif* in calling (p. 28) the books of the Old and New Testaments "falsified according to our faith." This expression is hardly fortunate; it involuntarily reveals the weakness of the position. In fact, several Moslem theologians have forced themselves to elucidate the supposed *tahrif*, without arriving, however, at a unanimous conclusion. On the other hand, their opinions show gross divergences, as one would expect, considering the absence of elementary knowledge necessary to institute a serious philological and historical examination. For this matter has nothing to do with faith; it belongs simply to knowledge, which is employed with the text of the Bible. This knowledge has been deepened for centuries, by hundreds of Jewish or Christian scholars, provided with the most minute critical apparatus, and zealous more for historic truth than for Jewish or Christian beliefs. Thus they have not failed to signal the slightest divergence between the received texts and the supposed originals, as well as the variations furnished by the oldest translations. There is trace, however, of a falsification which could justify the doctrine of the *tahrif* principle.

If, then, our author, who, as we have said, quotes the Bible, should take the doctrine of *tahrif* seriously, he would have to abstain from working with falsified texts according to himself, or else furnishing rigorously scientific data on the pretended falsification. As this data is lacking, the author can hardly reproach the Orientalists for

holding to the explanation of the origin of this doctrine sketched above.

IV. Lastly we shall discuss a fourth subject, which does not belong strictly to the subject of Moslem revelation, but which has been largely utilized by the author in view of propaganda. It deals with the general attitude of Islam, as "the religion of reason and as such the religion of all humanity."

As is natural, the parts of the work consecrated to this subject and to those which are connected are much weaker than those which deal with revelation. To begin with, the historical knowledge of the author leaves much to be desired from the European point of view, and the judgments based on it are inevitably false. Then, propaganda using such an unsteady foundation too often becomes second-rate journalism.

As for reason ('*akl*'), boasted by the author as the special property of Islam, let us look at it more closely. The term, like the technical term, belongs to scholasticism (*kalam*). According to this knowledge, the dogmas themselves rest on revelation, tradition, and the faith of the believers. Scholasticism, on its side, having for a purpose the formation and the explanation of the logical founding of dogma, declares itself based on reason ('*akl*').

The first one who made fundamental use of this method was Saint John, who lived in Damascus at the time of the last Omayyad caliphs. He composed a complete treatise of *kalam*. The influence of this method and of his conception betrays itself in the most ancient specimens of Musulman scholasticism, which in turn influenced later Christian scholasticism. In fact, in the Middle Ages there was only one method of rational dogmatics in the two religions; both use reason without making the slightest opposition, and their dogma is derived from reason with equal evidence.

It is not in the scholastic sense that one can boast of Islam as the religion of reason *par excellence*. Then, too, our author uses the term in a half-modern sense, as was customary in Europe at the time of the French revolution. In all probability he imagines that it is still commendable for a religion to be rationalistic, and he is doubtless right, since he addresses the great public, which is not acquainted with the movements of thought. For them rationalism has long ago lost its attraction, and it is rather irrationalism which is about to be recognized as an essential element in religions.

Aside from that, the reader will understand that the rationalism of an orthodox Mohammedan is as reasonable as any other kind of reasoning so boasted of by its adepts. We find an illustration of this in the passages which treat of the miracles. On the one hand the author does his best to detract from the value of the miracles of Christ. On the other hand he declares that Mohammed does not need miracles, his mission being founded on—reason! This statement, however, does not imply the negation of innumerable miracles attributed to Mohammed, like the splitting of the moon, the nocturnal voyage from Mecca to Jerusalem, the ascension to the seventh heaven on the back of the miraculous creature called the *burak*, and other manifestations approved of by—reason!

A subject allied with the so-called rationalism of the author is the preference which he asserts for Moslem law contrasted with the

Gospel, the former being within reach of man, while the latter is above our moral power. The commandment to love your enemies and to bless those who curse you is superhuman, according to the author, whereas the Moslem law does not lose sight of reality.

This point is of greater significance than that of the miracles. In my opinion, the author does wrong to Islam in attributing to it a moral attitude, which would not be long in incurring the censure of those who know that an ideal which lowers itself to man instead of raising him, is only an idol, which will share the fate of idols. Fortunately Islam is by no means incompatible with a more elevated morality, as the example of Al-Ghazali has demonstrated, who bears the honorific title of *Hujjat al-islam* (*test of Islam*), and who has not ceased to preach altruistic morality.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, one can not ignore the question: If the law of Islam is really within reach of man, how is it that, aside from family law, there is scarcely a chapter of this law which is in force in Moslem lands? It would be superfluous to illustrate this fact by examples; every one knows of them. Why then boast of the practical superiority of a law which is not practiced?

We must not tax the patience of the readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD. The number of questions discussed in this remarkable book is moreover so large that our review must of necessity be content with selections. Let us conclude by saying that the tone of the book does not detract from the dignity of the subject. Sometimes one finds the epithet "pagan" used with the open intention of depreciating the worth of Christian representations or doctrines, such as redemption, intercession, and the trinity. These are rare exceptions, all the more astonishing because the author is perfectly aware of the fact that Islam as well as Christianity shares a great number of its institutions, dogmas, and rites with pagan religions.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ihya'-'Ulum-ad-Din*, Cairo 1302, III, 153 C, 155 C, D, 157 E, 158; IV, 66:5; *Kitab al-Arbain*, Cairo 1328, p. 86:6 ff.; *Mizan-al-'Aamal*, Cairo 1328, p. 57:12.

## CURRENT TOPICS

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### North Africa

Mr. Kenneth G. Grubb, writing in *The Mildmay Appeal* says: "North Africa is a region where the past has been destroyed. Carthage once was queen of her shores, but among the great powers of the past, Carthage stands alone in being simply a memory, in having had no direct effect on the later history of the world. The Phoenician has been our teacher in nothing. The Church of North Africa was without a peer in Christendom from the second century to the fifth. It, indeed, has taught us through Tertullian, through Cyprian, and above all, through the great Augustine, the doctrinal master of Luther and Calvin. But that Church, as such, passed away. Even in the fifth century, though already in decline, it still numbered over 500 dioceses. But it decayed because of three most significant facts: the Scriptures were never given to the great Berber nation in their own tongue; the missionary spirit had gradually faded away; and the Church itself ceased to be truly indigenous and had become dominated by Greek and Latin theologians. Therefore it declined; and at last the Moslem invasion of the seventh century destroyed it. The Coptic Church of Egypt which had given the people the Bible survives to this day.

"It is a story which for its poignancy and tragedy should never be forgotten by Christians, while man has memory of his past.

"Throughout the Dark Ages and until to-day the Moslem has been the religious master of North Africa. The Crusades did not shake him and almost the only missionary was that lonely but undaunted figure Raymund Lull who was martyred in Algeria in 1315, ever true to his own motto, 'He who loves not, lives not.' He labored under the conviction that the reconquest of these regions for Christ was to be accomplished not by Crusades, but by love and prayer, and by the pouring out of blood and tears.

"The partition of North Africa began in 1830 when Algiers fell to the French, who to-day govern Tunis and Morocco also. Spanish Morocco is a relatively small territory. Italian Tripoli and Cyrenaica are vast, but sparsely populated. French administration has been enlightened and thorough, but it has not assisted the solution of the religious problem. Those educated in the French schools often have their faith in Islam shaken without finding any substitute. Racially the Algerians differ from the Tunisians, being much more purely a Berber, and less an Arab people. Illiteracy throughout North Africa is about 90 per cent. among the men.

"Islam in North Africa is a stern and uncompromising creed. The Malekite persuasion, famous for its orthodoxy, finds a spiritual home in Tunis. The famous Senussi brotherhood originated in

Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The Berber Mozabites of the Algerian Sahara have to this day resisted assimilation with their Berber neighbours or Arab invaders. Sufi mysticism, with its calm cult of meditation and its solemn search for God, has been developed in the Saharan Oases. The pure Berbers, however, as a whole, have never exhibited the intense fervor and conviction of their Arab conquerors.

"Roman Catholic Christianity in North Africa does not really assist the Moslem to accept Christ; its ceremonies and images are foreign to him. Protestant missions, of which most are of the interdenominational type, were started about fifty years ago. Their work falls into three classes; that among the Jews, of whom in Tunis and Algiers alone there are over 200,000; that among the European colonists, French, Spanish and Italian, in some cases also numerous; and, finally, that among Moslems.

"The Moslem work has been, and is, extraordinarily difficult. Converts in all the region number under 200, missionaries considerably over this figure. Yet in Morocco, for example, out of six-and-a-half-million persons, five-and-a-quarter live outside the centre of missionary occupation. Evangelization does not really depend upon more missionaries, but upon sacrificial prayer and the emergence of native evangelists. The needed itineration must be largely the work of men, but the predominance of women in the missionary force is marked. Of the 104 workers in Morocco, for example, three-quarters are women.

"The occupation of the field is unequal. In all Tripoli and Cyrenaica there is only one aged missionary—in Tripoli city. There are restrictions on religious liberty and no missionary can land in Tripoli except as a tourist. Two very small groups of Italian believers have been raised up. On such small threads does the evangelization of the land of Simon of Cyrene hang.

"Egypt requires a separate note. In 1927 out of the population of thirteen millions there were nearly a million Coptic Christians, 66,000 Protestants and 117,000 Roman Catholic and Uniat Christians. The Christian population is mostly in northern Egypt. Between Cairo and the Mediterranean, among six million people, there are only a little over two thousand Christians. The Coptic Church is one of the ancient Christian churches, similar to the Greek Orthodox except in its adherence to the 'Monophysite' doctrine. It gave to Christendom the great Athanasius, and through him, the condemnation of the Arian heresy. To-day it is in considerable decadence. Since the British occupation of Egypt (1914) Copts have mingled much more freely with the Moslems and not a few have gone over to Islam. The Coptic Church does not view with favor the work of Protestant missionaries.

"Egypt of to-day is looking to the future, but religiously she is not yet emancipated, and constant disputes arise on the question of liberty of conscience and teaching. There are over 400 missionaries and nearly 30 societies in the country. Forty per cent. of the missionary force is in Cairo, but there are some 300 centres of work. Much evangelism has been carried on among the Copts since 1859, and a very large part of the Protestant Church built up from among them. Progress among Moslems has been ex-

ceedingly slow and the work is difficult as in the rest of North Africa. The El-Azhar University of Cairo is the citadel of Moslem orthodoxy. Many social and educational reforms are being carried out in the country to-day, but there are powerful elements which view with apprehension any weakening of the traditional Moslem position and prestige."

### One Hundred Years of Service

*Rendered by the American Press, Beirut, Syria.*

On the afternoon of Monday, May 21st, a small group consisting of the members of Beirut Station and their friends gathered together on historic ground to celebrate a historic occasion. The place was historic ground because it was the first piece of property to be acquired by the earliest pioneers of American Mission work in Syria more than one hundred years before. It had other historic associations besides, for in this same compound terrified refugees had crowded for safety during the civil disturbances of the early 19th century. Moreover it had sustained in common with the rest of the town of Beirut the severe bombardment of a British fleet sent to curb the ambitious projects of the Egyptian Mohammed Ali.

But on this Monday afternoon all was calm and peaceful, and, for the older members of the party, happily retrospective as they dwelt in thought, word and prayer on the achievements of a long life worthily lived in the missionary cause for Arabic speaking peoples and still actively employed in spreading the Word among them. For this historic occasion was nothing less than the marking of the hundredth year of service of the American Mission Press in Arabic Publication.

The American Press was founded in 1822 on the island of Malta very soon after the first American missionaries were sent out by the American Board to the Near East. The first missionary who came in 1819, Pliny Fisk, wrote home the following year emphasizing the vast good which could be effected by establishing one or more printing presses within the Turkish empire, and this suggestion was soon acted upon in founding this press. Its location in Malta was temporary, waiting for the way to open further east. So a few years later the Press was divided, a part going to Smyrna to continue printing in Greek, Graeco-Turkish and Armeno-Turkish, while the other half reached Beirut, Syria, May 8, 1834, to take up specifically the work of Arabic publication.

In 1922 the Centennial of the founding of the Press was celebrated not only with meetings and the publication of a Centennial booklet but also by the completion of new buildings with improved equipment.

The Mission felt it quite appropriate to make a special recognition of this month of May, 1934, not only because it marks a definite period of 100 years of the Press in Syria, but more especially because it marks 100 years of distinctive service to the Arabic-speaking world, for it appears that during the eleven years in Malta the undivided Press was busy printing missionary literature in Italian, Greek, Graeco-Turkish and Armeno-Turkish. With considerable difficulty the management had succeeded in obtaining a font of Arabic type

from London six years after the founding of the Press, but due to the inadequacy of the type and preoccupation with other work, actual printing in Arabic did not begin until the Press was moved to Beirut. Now we had met to celebrate that centenary, acknowledging the great privilege and opportunity given to the Mission in Syria, and desiring to express our thankfulness to God for what He enabled those who were connected with the Press during all these years to accomplish in this service. Speaking of publication work by missions Dr. Watson has said most truly: "No other agency can penetrate so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly, and influence so irresistibly as the printed page."

In the first third of this century of the life of the Press two great accomplishments are recorded which stand out preeminently in its whole history, the creation of an Arabic type beautiful in itself and acceptable and satisfying to the taste of the Arabic readers, and the translation of the Bible into Arabic. The only Arabic type manufactured up to this time was made in Europe and though readable was not at all pleasing to the Oriental, accustomed to the beautiful characters of his manuscripts, the art of writing which had been highly developed. The early missionaries wrote much about the very unsatisfactory character of the early type, so unsatisfactory that it was a real hindrance to the work of publication.

In this early period two missionaries stand out, also preeminently, in this work, both of them devoting a good part of their lives to the management of the Press and the production of literature, especially the Bible translation; Dr. Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck. Dr. Eli Smith had charge of the Press from its arrival in Beirut until his death in 1857 and his chief work in the first few years was the preparation of this much needed type, the story of which is most interesting. With great care he collected the best specimens of Arabic handwriting that he could find from the famous scribes in Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo and finally Constantinople. From these Mr. Homan Hallock, an experienced printer and clever mechanic, was able to cut with his own hands the necessary punches from which he stamped the brass matrices for casting the new type. Dr. Smith on his first journey to Smyrna with his precious specimens of Arabic calligraphy to have the punches made, suffered shipwreck and lost not only all his possessions, but also these precious models and so had to repeat the work of collecting specimens of handwriting. When finally the matrices were made Dr. Smith took them to Germany, where at Leipzig the type was cast and it is interesting to note that this was done in the great printing establishment of Messrs. Tauchnitz who are still so famous for the finely printed cheap editions of standard novels and other books.

This new and beautiful Arabic type was of the greatest importance in making the new literature now to be published acceptable to Arabs everywhere, whether Christian, Moslem, or Druze, and the many presses that later grew up in Syria and Egypt for many years used what was called the "Amerikani" type.

The second great achievement of that first period was the translation of the Scriptures into Arabic. There were already in existence several translations into Arabic, and the British and

Foreign Bible Society had for some time been publishing one of these versions which they generously distributed by the hands of the early missionaries. But not only was the type in which it was printed unacceptable, as has been shown, but far more important than that was the fact that the translation in general was also very unsatisfactory and many parts of the Scriptures were really unintelligible. The missionaries say in one of their reports to the Board "We have been ashamed to put the sacred books of our religion in such a dress into the hands of respectable Mohammedans and Druzes and feel it our duty to accompany them with an apology, and some of us never think of reading a chapter in public without previously revising it".

The translation begun by Dr. Smith was completed by Dr. Van Dyck with the printing of the New Testament in 1860 and the Old Testament and complete Bible in 1865. In the sixty-three years up to 1923 some 2,200,000 copies of Bibles and Portions were printed at the Press, and distributed by the Bible Societies. In the ten years since 1923 another 2,050,000 copies of Scriptures have issued from the Press. That is, in the last ten years nearly as much was printed as in the more than sixty years before. In all this Bible work the American Bible Society has stood back of it in financing it and in the work of distribution.

In the ten years, 1923-1933, in addition to the publication of Scriptures, 856,000 religious, educational and miscellaneous books and tracts were sold to the value of nearly \$200,000. This literature goes not only to the lands of the Near East but to Arabic speaking people scattered in some twenty-five different countries.

In common with other Missionary institutions the Press faces many difficult and serious problems as it strives to adjust itself to changing conditions. It is our hope and prayer that such a proven and effective aid to Missionary enterprise may continue for many a long year to render faithful account of its consecrated stewardship.

PAUL ERDMAN AND H. W. GLOCKLER.

### Islam and Christianity in Java

The Rev. L. E. Browne, D.D., has a most interesting article in *The National Christian Council Review* (India) for June, 1934, on Islam and Christianity in Java. He writes:

"Java is a narrow island, over 600 miles long, i.e., as long as from John O' Groats to Land's End, with an area four and a half times that of Holland. What is more important than the size is the population. While Sumatra and Borneo are very sparsely populated, Java is densely populated, and the intense cultivation of the fields is a joy to behold. The population of Java is some forty million, and, with some trifling exceptions, they are all Muslims. This fact begins to make us sit up and take notice, but more striking still is the fact that till the last few years it was usual for one-third of all the pilgrims to Mecca to come from Java. British Malaya also sent a good number, but it is difficult to get precise information, and in Mecca all the inhabitants of the East Indies are classed as 'Java.' Anyhow, by far the largest proportion of pilgrims from the East Indies were from the island of Java itself. The decrease in the number from Java in the last year or two is probably due

to economic conditions. . . . . After allowing for Christians in Java who have come from outside, such as the Chinese Christians and the Christians of Animistic origin from Celebes or other islands, there remain in Java Christian congregations numbering over 60,000 who are all of Islamic origin. Either they, or their fathers or grandfathers, were converts from Islam. Here let it be placed on record that the first converts in Java were made about 1830, through the instrumentality of St. Mark's Gospel, translated into Javanese by a Dutch Baptist missionary, and printed at Serampore, Bengal. Of the 60,000 indigenous Christians mentioned above, rather more than two-thirds are connected with the Dutch Protestant and Calvinistic Missions, and the remainder with the Roman Catholics. Different schools of Christian thought are thus represented in the missionaries, and different methods of work have been adopted, so that it does not appear that the success is due to any particular method. It must be noted that the success is much less in the western end of the island, where the Arabian influence has been strongest, but even in the west there are prospects of future success.

"Attention should, however, be drawn to the special success that has attended a new venture, in which the sphere and method of work were adopted as part of a carefully thought-out policy. A sphere of work was chosen with its centre at Malang, where ten years ago there were no Christians. A hospital, schools and a theological school were built. A considerable number of Christians migrated there, especially as workers in the hospital. The number of Christians in Malang and the neighborhood has now reached 500, and there are about fifty adult baptisms every year. Evangelistic work is carried on, under the direction of the missionaries, by Javanese pastors and by students of the theological school."

### A New Islam in America

In connection with the article in this number by Prof. G. H. Bousquet, the following item from the *Newark Evening News*, September 7, 1934, is significant:

The faithful brethren and sisters who profess fealty to Temple No. 10, Moorish Science Temple of America, will not be required to contribute any more coin of the realm to the "reincarnated" Prophet Noble Drew Ali, founder of their order, until Vice Chancellor Stein has had opportunity to look into the matter.

The temporary suspension of tribute to the prophet was imposed by the court yesterday when Sister R. Bey Jones, grand governess of the Moorish Science Temple of America for the State of New Jersey, asserted the prophet "departed from this life in the year 1929 and his return to this earth is impossible on that short space of time, according to the recognized conceptions of the Moorish Science Temple of America."

The court directed Gravitt-Eli, L. Smith Bey, secretary of the local temple, and J. Shows-El, acting treasurer, to show cause Tuesday why they should not deliver up the charter. He also directed Gravitt-El to show cause why he should not be restrained from representing himself as grand sheikh of the local temple.

The pleadings recited there are in excess of 100,000 members of the national order in this country, who pay 50 cents a month

to the local temples and 25 cents a month to be forwarded to the national body.

The pleadings stated the "failure of Gravitt-El to pay over to the parent body the per capita tax is a financial loss to the organization, and likewise the defiance of the said defendant and the preachings contrary to the general laws of the parent body subject the parent body to ridicule and lack of respect."

An excerpt from the "general laws" of the parent body incorporated in the complaint reads:

"The head of every temple must by law obey the word of the prophet, and if any head or leader or any temple fails to obey these laws—embezzlement is his charge and is subject to enforcement of the law by the grand body, and the penalty may be fine or a removal of office or under a heavy restriction of the law."

The pleadings also recited:

"The Moorish Science Temple of America is a national organization founded by Noble Drew Ali with religious, social and humanitarian purposes and among others expounds the following religious beliefs:

"That Noble Drew Ali was a prophet descended from Mohammed and guided by his Father God Allah, that colored people and Moors descended from ancient Moabites, who left the North Western and South Western shores of Africa; that the names colored folks, black people or Ethiopians and Negroes are improper and misnomers, being names applied to slaves by slave holders; that Friday is a holy day of rest; that love, truth, peace, freedom and justice must be proclaimed and practiced."

### A Missionary Appraisal by a Persian Mujtahid

"I have seen Christian priests occupied from morning till night in propagating and spreading Christianity. Notwithstanding their knowledge of the falseness of their beliefs, they do not desist. I have said repeatedly to Christian priests, 'Knowing as you do that you are in error and have gone astray and in some manner you are without religion and faith, why this eagerness and effort?' They have replied, 'Since we are paid by our nation, we are striving to fulfil our obligation'. Day and night, in street and bazar and among the nomads and in hot and burning deserts, they seek to propagate the Gospel. (I have been among the nomads and repeatedly they have told me that some Christian priests are travelling among the tribe.) They have established many printing presses in Baghdad for the propagation and spread of Christianity. The printing presses which I have in mind are known by the following names: Catholic Press, Protestant Press, Christian Press, Gospel Press, American Press, English Press, German Press. Always their work is the publishing of tracts, newspapers and books against Islam. The superintendents of presses, writers, overseers, and distributors of books and tracts are priests. Priests are entrusted with all the efforts and endeavors for the spread of the Gospel and the refutation of Islam. Notwithstanding the fact that the Gospel is a book without foundation or completion and contains merely a handful of exhortations and impractical moral precepts without foresight and restraint from corrupt

human dispositions by means of creating fear and dread and establishing boundaries and punishments and submitting practical prerequisites for the performance of the heavenly rules. Its pages are a collection of idle tales and laughable and impossible stories. In these stories, they connect divinity with drinking of intoxicants, wrestling, adultery and similar repulsive acts. Taking with them this Gospel which I have just described, they go among the nomads and harsh, rough tribes, and often perish from hunger and thirst in the hot, burning deserts of Arabia, or are killed by the hand of a nomad. Notwithstanding this, they persevere in their efforts.

"Truly, if a comparison be made with the lofty instructions of Islam and the firm laws of the Koran, which commands that 'the true believers are those only who believe in God and His Apostle, and afterwards doubt not; and who contend with their substance and their persons on the path of God. These are the sincere,' (Sura 49:15) we should die of shame; because, along with this enormous difference (between the Gospel and the Koran) we come so far short in propagating Islamic laws and religious truths and do not put forth one-tenth or even one-hundredth part of the effort which the Christian priests put forth. I am certain that if we had worked as they have worked in this way, Islam would have conquered the world. Is it not true that our confidence and hope are in the laws of the Koran and the confirmation of Islam? Is it not a pity that, in view of all these advantages and benefits of position and subsistence from this service, we should not strive for their preservation in the face of the opposition of Christian priests? If merely for this world, we should at least strive to the extent that a shopkeeper strives to protect his shop. (Although this leaves out of consideration the inner significance, the spiritual meaning, I have been compelled to speak in this way.)

"Gentlemen, the work of Christian priests has exceeded this also. Men and women work like lightning. Earth on the heads of Moslem women in the place of consolation to Christian women! In regard to the preservation of their own religion and effort for the propagation of religious fundamentals, see what disgrace and ignominy they (Moslem women) cause in Gulhak (a summer resort near Teheran)! They (Christian women) travel continually in deserts, and often not being able to endure the hot climate because of bodily weakness, perish, and others, with knowledge of their fate, follow them.

"In Africa, Christian priests have gone among the Yamyams, who are among the wildest people in the world, eating raw flesh and living in extreme savagery. If they capture a white man, they devour him with greediness and avidity. Christian priests going among these cannibals have, by the endurance of every kind of sacrifice, finally had a measure of success. What do we suppose? Let some of the inhabitants of Teheran devour us. We are not less than the Christian priests, nor are the inhabitants of Teheran better than the wild people of Yamyam. It is a pity that priests and other Christians perform their duty and we do not perform ours.

"Here in Teheran, Christians have established boys' and girls'

schools. I have heard that they have made some Christians among both men and women. I know their names, but have not made investigations. Since coming here, I have seen and recognized some of them but have not yet made known their names. In the center of Islam, in the capital of Persia, in the center of the Orient, they urge Moslems to accept Christianity and error, and we sit in silence and do not suppress the evils of these boys' and girls' schools of the Christian evangelists.

"This American hospital has been founded for the propagation and spread of Christianity. While they are treating the sick, they evangelize. They do not even take their hands off the helpless sick. And the same is true of other schools and evangelists. Shall we be contented and satisfied with the fact that we are learned? My father once asked an earnest Indian Moslem, 'Wherefore this earnestness and endeavor?' He replied, 'I must maintain my pride and self-respect in view of the earnestness of Christians.'"

—*Translated from the Persian Press.*

### Evangelism for the Tamil-speaking Moslems

In *The Indian Bookman*, published by the Christian Literature Society for India we read:

"The census reveals that there are 3,332,158 followers of the Prophet Mohammed in the Madras Presidency. This fact makes it apparent that while not so numerically strong as in some other provinces, the Moslem community in this province is not negligible and ought to receive some attention from those who are sent to disciple *all* the nations.

"But it is just because the community is a minority community, and scattered, that direct evangelism amongst Moslems is not felt to be possible in the ordinary course of Mission work. The keenest evangelist in, say, the Tamil country, in ordinary circumstances feels that he has equally reached through his Tamil address the ears of Moslems as well as Hindus who have been in his audience.

"Very rarely however is this the case. The Moslem may know Tamil well, or even speak it as his mother tongue. Yet unless he is a convert from Hinduism, the religious terms and illustrations used, having as they mostly do a Hindu background, make no appeal to him. A reference to the second commandment, for instance, as made to a Hindu audience would have no greater effect on the Moslem than on the Christian. The Moslem resents exceedingly being classed with the Hindu as an idolater. Not only so, but the Moslem's religious Tamil contains a vastly different vocabulary from the Hindu's or the Christian's Tamil. This will apply to the other languages of the province also.

"There exists in India a *Christian Literature for Moslems Committee* through which grants are made for the production in the vernaculars of suitable tracts and booklets for Moslems. These tracts are approved as suitable both in matter, style and language and are thus specially adapted to the community they are planned to reach. If all evangelistic workers would include a few of these tracts in their wallets to give to the Moslems in their audiences instead of the usual tract applicable to Hindus, some more direct approach could be made to the Moslem than is made at present."

### Turkey Becoming Literate

Illiteracy is being combated by the Kemalist government. According to the last census, in 1927, only 10 per cent of the Turkish population was able to read. It is estimated that, at present, about half of the population is literate.

Aside from normal school activity, progress chiefly is due to the work of adults' evening schools, which were organized when the Latin script was introduced four years ago. Education in the army, where the young recruit is acquainted in a course of three months with reading, writing and arithmetic, also has done much to diminish illiteracy.

Primary education is obligatory. According to official statistics the number of primary schools in 1932 was 6,353, with 13,821 teachers, 318,964 male and 174,832 female pupils. The government is rapidly filling the gaps, and many a Turkish village school compares quite well with similar institutions in Western countries. Great stress is being laid in all schools on physical culture for boys and girls alike.

Education is free of charge and even in government boarding schools no fee for the maintenance is made. The Ghazi School, the Ismet Pasha Institute of Domestic Sciences, the Commercial High School, the Academy of Music in Ankara, with their splendid equipment and their highly qualified staff of teachers, furnish proof of the ambitious program the Ghazi's government is carrying out in the field of education.

Internal reforms of Hikmet Bey, energetic Minister of Education, leave no doubt that it is not the façade only which is being changed. He has ruthlessly dismissed more than thirty professors of Istanbul University as not corresponding to modern standards of science.

Most of them have been replaced temporarily by foreign scientists. Other experts have been invited from abroad to serve in high and secondary schools.

—*The United Press.*

### The Exact Height of Mecca

The following information comes from *The Geographical Journal* (London): "Mr. George W. Murray of the Survey of Egypt has communicated to the Society an interesting determination of the height of Mecca made this year by the Chief Engineer of the Egyptian Desert Survey Office, Ibrahim-eff Abdel Aal el Sayed. On his pilgrimage to the Holy City the latter carried with him a thermometer and an aneroid and took two readings at Jedda and two inside the Kaaba. From these the Director of the Egyptian Meteorological Service calculates the height as 265 metres above sea-level. Taking into account that the floor of the Kaaba is raised about 7 feet above the ground, this result agrees fairly closely with that of 853 feet (260 metres) given on Hunter's map of Arabia published by the Survey of India in 1910 and stated in the accompanying pamphlet to be the height obtained by the Hejaz railway survey."

### The Santa Sophia Mosque

The Aya Sophia Mosque, one of the most beautiful and venerable buildings in the world, is to become a museum of Byzantine art. The official Press, commenting on the event, stresses the fact that by allowing the Mosque to serve this new purpose, Turkey removes a pretext for anti-Turkish religious agitation, and offers an example of laic attitude of mind, giving to science and art the advantage over purely religious considerations. A similar step, it is reported, is being taken with regard to the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, situated close to the Aya Sophia, and the only one in Istanbul to have six minarets. Whether this decision was taken prior to the time when Professor Whitemore began his work of restoration in Aya Sophia, or not, is a debated point. The uncovering of Byzantine mosaics, making New Testament subjects prominent in the narthex and possibly very soon in other parts of the Church as well, undoubtedly has represented a wide step towards the transformation of the whole building into a museum.

If one takes into consideration the fact that Aya Sophia owes its name to a basilica which, in 325 A. D., was erected on the same spot by Constantine the Great in devotion to a half-pagan, half-Christian divinity which he called "Divine Wisdom," then Aya Sophia enters upon the fourth phase of its history, having been pre-Christian until 532, Christian from 537 to 1453, and Mussulman from 1453 to 1934. This circumstance is especially emphasized by a Turkish daily in explaining the transformation of a mosque into a museum.

It should be added that toleration in almost all the twenty-seven Byzantine Churches now used as Mosques has been very great, and that non-Mussulmans have been able to walk round almost at any time, and admire their architectural details just as in a museum. As, at any rate, due recognition of Byzantine art is apparent in the new measure, it is to be hoped that some may be bestowed, for instance, on the famous Fethiye Jamissi, or Pam-macaristos Church, which can boast of some of the finest Byzantine mosaics, but is in a state of progressive dilapidation.

### Prayer in non-Arabic Languages the Suicide of Islam

Under this title Dr. Basharat Ahmed writes in *The Light* (Lahore, India): "You say unintelligent prayer is only a sort of drill and it is better that those who do not understand Arabic might say their prayers in their mother tongue.

"In the first place, I wish to point out that even mere drill is not something to be so lightly dismissed. In drill lies the secret of organization and without drill there could be no disciplined army. I wish the Muslims had observed prayer, even though as a mere drill. Then they would not have presented the sad spectacle of disintegration which has become so chronic a disease of our society.

"Now as to the question, how can a non-Arab understand the Fatiha. I say, exactly as he will memorize its translation in his own language. After all he will have to learn the translation of the Arabic word for word. Now if the Arabic words are also committed to memory it should be nothing difficult to have their

significance impressed on one's mind. The next question is, why do not the Ulema make the people realize the significance? I say it is their fault. They are not doing their duty. But does it mean that since the Ulema have become negligent of their duty, the original obligations should be abandoned?

"Arabic prayer is therefore necessary, not because Islam is a universal religion and as such various races must have a common language of worship, but also because without Arabic the one cord which binds the hearts of Muslims to the Arabian Prophet and the Arabic Quran is bound to snap. When Arabic is discarded in prayer, the next step would be to discard the Quran in Arabic as a waste of time. Why not read just the translation of it, it will be argued. Thus gradually the Arabian Prophet and his religion will lose hold in the hearts of Muslims. The universal nation of Islam will get scattered and in a couple of generations the old national religion of the soil will take the place of Islam in the hearts of Muslims. Islam will thus vanish or at best shrink into the national religion of Arabia."

### Les Musulmans sont inconvertissables !

We quote from *Le Bulletin des Missions*, (Rome) June, 1934: "L'Islam indien n'est donc pas mort. Il a pu perdre un peu de sa majesté dans la bagarre du siècle dernier; habitué à dominer, il a eu de la peine à se soumettre à un maître plus fort que lui, et il a payé cher son orgueil. Mais il a su comprendre les dangers auxquels l'exposait sa folle tactique d'abstention et de haine. Aujourd'hui, tant dans le domaine spirituel que matériel, il se réorganise rapidement. Ses 77 millions 743,928 adeptes (contre 68,735,233 en 1921—soit 9 millions de plus en dix ans!), sous la conduite de leaders de valeur, prennent de plus en plus conscience de leur force, et s'ils parviennent à s'unir en un bloc suivant le désir de leurs chefs—et il est probable qu'ils y parviendront—les Hindous indisciplinés et divisés en centaines de castes aux limites infranchissables, pourraient bien avoir à courber la tête sous un nouveau 'Muslim Rule', si pas nominal, en tout cas effectif.

"Quel serait le sort des Missions chrétiennes si tout cela venait à se réaliser? Les quelques faits que nous avons rapportés, peuvent donner à réfléchir. Un réel péril menace l'Eglise aux Indes. Resterons-nous insouciant, répétant pour nous justifier cette proposition hérétique: 'Rien à faire! Les Musulmans sont inconvertissables!'

"Les Protestants ne semblent pas croire à l' 'inconvertibilité' des Musulmans. Qu'on se rappelle le 'Board of Missionary Preparation' et les Séminaires pro-protestants de Missions où l'on forme des spécialistes dans tous les domaines de la Missiologie, et l'Islam en est. Que l'on songe à l' 'American Christian Literature Society' grâce à laquelle 58 tracts et livres ont déjà été publiés pour les Musulmans indiens en Urdu, Bengali, Telugu, Tamoule, Oriya, Kashmiri, Hindi, Gujurati, Malayalam . . . ; à la 'School of Islamics' de Lahore (Punjab) dont le double but est d'étudier les mouvements actuels parmi les Musulmans de l'Inde et de préparer une littérature chrétienne plus adéquate aux besoins du jour.

Outre les cours réguliers de l'année, l'école donne des cours de vacances à l'usage des Missionnaires dans différentes villes des Indes : Bangalore, Landour, Darjeeling, Simla . . . et songe à fonder plusieurs nouveaux centres d'études. 'The Fellowship of Faith for the Muslims' enrôle pour les unir 'par la prière, le travail, le sacrifice tous ceux qui aiment les Musulmans et cherchent par tous les moyens à les gagner au Sauveur Jésus'.

"Et parmi la milice catholique à qui seule a été confiée par Dieu la Mission d'étendre l'Eglise jusqu'aux confins du monde, n'en trouvera-t-on pas 'qui aiment les Musulmans et cherchent par tous les moyens à les gagner au Sauveur Jésus?' Laisserons-nous ces 77,000,000 d'âmes rougies du sang de Jésus, ignorer à jamais leur Rédempteur, ou ne le connaître qu'au travers de la catéchèse déformante du Protestantisme? Ce serait indigne de notre Foi et manquer gravement à notre devoir missionnaire! Rassemblons donc tous nos efforts, unissons nos prières et nos sacrifices pour le succès de cette nouvelle croisade, la 'Croisade du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle', et si Dieu nous l'inspire, ajoutons les 'œuvres' à la Foi."

VICTOR COURTOIS S. J.

Missionnaire au Bengale.

### The Rabbinic Source of Sūrah VI, 76-79

Sūrah VI verses 76-79 reads as follows (transl. of J. M. Rodwell, *The Koran*, London, 1929, p. 324) :

"And when the night overshadowed him, he beheld a star. 'This', said he, 'is my Lord': but when it set, he said, 'I love not gods which set'.

"And when he beheld the moon uprising, 'This', said he, 'is my Lord': but when it set, he said, 'Surely, if my Lord guide me not, I shall surely be of those who go astray'.

"And when he beheld the sun uprise, he said, 'This is my Lord; this is greatest'. But when it set, he said, 'O my people! I share not with you the guilt of joining gods with God; I turn my face to him who hath created the Heavens and the Earth . . ."

Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, chap. VII, par. 1, has a passage (*The Works of Flavius Josephus*, transl. by R. A. Shilleto, vol. I, London, 1900, p. 91) which seems to embody very much the same idea, if not the same legend.

" . . . he was the first that ventured to declare that there was but one God, the Creator of the Universe; and that of other things whatever contributed to the happiness of men, was only according to his appointment, and not by its powers. This he inferred from the changes on land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, for if, he argued, those bodies had power of their own, they would certainly make their motions regular, but since they did not preserve such regularity, they made it plain, that, so far as they cooperated to our advantage, they did it not of their own power, but as subservient to him that commanded them, to whom alone we ought to pay honour and thanksgiving."

George Sale (*The Koran*, London, 1850, p. 105f.) refers to the Josephus passage without comment. Louis Ginzberg (*The Legends*

of the Jews, vol. V, Phila., 1925, p. 210, footnote 16), while omitting mention of the Koranic passage, believes that Josephus is giving a rationalistic interpretation of an older legend. D. Sidersky (*Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes*, Paris, 1933, p. 34), curiously enough, regards the Josephus passage as the inspiration of the original legend, and not *vice versa*. This French scholar finds the same legend in the post-Koranic *Sefer ha-Yashar* (Noah 20a-20b) but appears ignorant of any earlier rabbinic source; hence, very likely, his theory.

That the legend is found, though with variations from the Koranic form, in *Bereshith Rabba* (on Gen. 11:28; transl. by Dr. Aug. Wünsche, *Midrasch Bereschit Rabba*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 173), one of the earliest *midrashic* works, has not escaped the notice of Sale, Rodwell and of course Dr. Bernhard Heller (*JQR*, vol., XXIV, April, 1934, p. 359), which latter scholar is of the opinion that "its classic form was preserved in Islamic literature". Following is the form of the *midrash* in *Bereshith Rabba*:

"Then Terach took Abraham and brought him to Nimrod. The latter said to him: 'We will worship the Fire!' To which Abraham replied: 'Rather the Water, which puts out the fire'. Said Nimrod: 'Then we will worship the Water.' 'No, rather the Clouds that bear the water.' 'Good, then let us worship the Clouds.' 'No, rather the Wind which scatters the clouds.' 'Then let us worship the Wind.' 'No, rather the Spirit.' 'Right, we will worship the Spirit.' 'No, rather Man who bears the spirit.'" Whereupon Nimrod lost his patience and cast Abraham into the furnace.

The correct view, hinted at, but not explicitly stated, by Dr. Heller, would seem, very simply, to be that the Koranic legend has a rabbinic source, namely, the *midrash* which found crystallization in *Bereshith Rabba*, though its original form almost certainly antedates Josephus who was acquainted with it.

Graduate College, Princeton, N. J.

R. A. HABAS.

### The Keys of Jerusalem

The Arabs are aware that God said to Abraham: "Unto thy seed will I give this land," and repeated the promise several times to him and to Isaac and Jacob. So sincerely do the Arabs believe this, that they keep a jealous watch over the tombs of these three patriarchs at Hebron to prevent the Jews from approaching and obtaining them as intercessors with God to restore to them their country. Every Mohammedan also knows that Jerusalem once belonged to the Hebrews, and was taken from them as a punishment.

In July 1861, on the day on which the news of the death of Abd-ul-Mejid, the Sultan of Turkey, and the accession of Abd-ul-Aziz, reached Jerusalem, the Jews waited with all formalities on the Governor, Surraya Pasha, and requested him to restore to them the keys of Jerusalem, according to a right which they claimed on the death of one Sultan and the accession of another. At the same time they brought forward such proof of the justice of their demands that the Pasha did not refuse but referred their request to his ordinary council, consisting of the chief officer of religion (the Mufti), the chief judge (the Kadi) and other persons of distinction,

natives of the country. Their decision was in favour of the Israelites, the whole council being aware that they were the ancient owners of the country.

The ceremony was accordingly performed in the following manner. Sayed Pasha, the General of the forces, accompanied by the officers of his staff and some members of the council, and followed by a crowd of sightseers, went to the Jews' quarters, where he was met by a deputation of that nation and conducted to the house of the Chief Rabbi (Haham Bashi) who received the General of the forces at the door and there was publicly presented with the keys. The General was then entertained with the utmost respect at the divan of the Rabbi. Refreshments, coffee and tobacco were served. And then the Rabbi, not having a garrison to defend Jerusalem, restored the keys with thanks to the General, who was escorted back by the chief men of the Jews to the Governor of the City, Suraya Pasha, to give him an account of his mission and show him that none of the keys were missing.—*Palestine Illustrated News*.

### The Education of Moslems in India

In the last published report of the Progress of Education in India, issued by the government, we learn:

"An increase of 854,667 Muslim pupils in the 1922-27 quinquennium coupled with one of 587,649 in the 1927-32 quinquennium, or an increase of 1,442,316 in a decade, indicates the rapidity with which the school enrollment of Muslims is increasing. Whereas in 1932 the Muslim population formed 24.7 per cent. of the total population in British India, Muslim pupils formed 26.7 per cent. of the total number of pupils enrolled from all communities."

The report then goes on to give statistics of enrollment in primary and secondary schools, both for boys and for girls.

"A closer examination of these figures, however, will disclose disquieting features. The vast majority of Muslim boys do not proceed further than the primary stage. In 1932, Muslims formed 30.5 per cent. of the total in Class I; in Class II they formed only 25.3 per cent; in Class V only 19.4 per cent. In the middle stage there were only 165,144 pupils or 18.2 per cent. of the total; in the high stage only 47,031 or 15.0 per cent. of the total. In colleges and universities there were only 13,302 students or 13.6 per cent. of the total.

"The position of Muslim girls is even more disturbing. In 1932, there were 647,713 Muslim girls at school and college, or 26.0 per cent. of the total. In Class I they formed 28.6 per cent. of the total, but in Class V only 9.87 of the total. There were only 4,591 or 6.5 per cent. in the middle stage; and 594 or 4.1 per cent. in the high stage. There were only 127 Muslim girls in all colleges and universities.

"The Census literacy figures are equally disquieting. In all communities the number of literates by no means reflects school attendance figures, as large numbers of school children never attain literacy, but this disappointing tendency is more prevalent among Muslims than among most other communities. The Census Commissioner, Punjab, has suggested as a reason that Muslims are

mainly agriculturists and therefore require the labour of their children at an early age before they have attained literacy. Conditions of life in the villages are also such that relapse into illiteracy is very frequent; nor do Muslims ordinarily pursue occupations in life such as would encourage them to attain literacy at a later age."

### Another Note on a Koran Text

Reading Nabih Eff. Faris' note in reply to Prof. Guillaume drew my attention to his other suggested emendation. It may be of some interest to readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD to follow this a little further.

In XII, 12 the *textus receptus* reads *yarta' wa yal'ab*, which was the Kūfan reading. The reading of the Baṣran and Syrian Codices, however, was *narta' wa nal'ab*, which in the form *narta'i wa nal'ab* was also the reading of the Meccans. In the Madinan Codex it read *yarta'i wa yal'ab*.

The mixed reading *narta' wa yal'ab*, which Nabih Eff. Faris suggested in his first article, was the reading of Ja'far b. Mḥd (i. e., Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq), Ayyūb as-Sakhtiyānī and Ibn Sā'ib al-Kalbī (see Alūsī xii, 173: 'Ukbarī, fol. 194).

The fact that *narta' wa nal'ab* was found in one of the Princeton Kūfic fragments, therefore, signifies nothing more than that the scribe was following the Baṣran, Syrian or Meccan tradition (the Meccan variation would not necessarily show in orthography), rather than the Kūfan, which has been followed in our lithographed texts. Since all the Seven traditions were canonized by Ibn Mujāhid in 322 A.H. it did not matter which system a scribe followed, and indeed there are hundreds of instances known to us where in these early Codices the scribe seems to have followed his own ideas as to how the text should be pointed without conforming consistently to any one form of tradition.

Cairo

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Catholic Mission History.** By John Schmidlin, D.D., Professor of Missiology at the University of Muenster. A translation edited by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. Techny, Ill., Mission Press, 1933. 8vo, pp. xiv, 862. \$5.

This comprehensive history is a companion volume to the author's *Catholic Mission Theory*, the two together forming a veritable encyclopedia of missions, one of the most nearly adequate presentations of the subject now available in any language. The treatise before us reveals on every page—especially in the extensive footnotes—the painstaking labors of a scholar whose skilful handling of the results of his researches is no less impressive than his mastery of the primary sources and the secondary literature pertaining to his specialty. In four main sections—"The Early Christian Mission," "The Medieval Mission," "The Missions of the Modern Epoch," and "The World Mission in Recent Times"—he portrays the territorial expansion of the Church from the days of the Apostles to our own.

As is to be expected in a work bearing this title, the missionary activities of the Papal Church after the rise of Protestantism receive particularly generous treatment, nearly two-thirds of the book being devoted to this part of the theme. And it is in these chapters that Dr. Schmidlin has most conspicuously improved upon his predecessors, and in turn prepared the way for the still more thorough investigation of this rapidly enlarging field. The author pays little attention to missions among non-Catholic Christians, but he does record the more important "conversions"—of individuals and groups—that have taken place among some of the "schismatic" bodies.

Though it was beside his main purpose, he gives in the Appendix a brief survey of Protestant missions (about eight pages), a sketch which doubtless most Protestant readers would prefer to see eliminated; not because the account is not reliable as far as it goes—the author is scrupulously fair, even to the point of making some comparisons that reflect on his own Church—but because it is so scant that it gives an erroneous idea of the great achievements of the Evangelical Churches.

Readers of this magazine will be specially interested in what Professor Schmidlin has to say of the recent progress of Catholic missions among the Mohammedans in the Near East and Africa (pp. 583-592) and in India and Farther India (pp. 592-608); but it is in most of these very lands, and yet more in those others in which the Roman Church has up to the present accomplished little or nothing, that we must take into account the labors of Protestant missionaries, if we would have a true picture of the wide front along which Christianity is attacking the problem of Islam.

As a work of reference for the history of missions, and especially of modern Catholic missions, this erudite volume will prove invaluable to all students of the subject. The bibliographical aids are all that could be desired, and so is the elaborate Index of 129 pages.

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F. W. LOETSCHER.

**Jesus Christ and World Evangelization** (Missionary Principles: Christ's or Ours). By Alexander McLeish. Lutterworth Press, London, 1934. pp. 188. 3s. net.

The author was a missionary in India for many years, and theologically is conservative. His book is a striking challenge to the Church, based upon the authority of Christ and Scripture, to gird itself anew to the essential task of missions, which are conceived in terms of New Testament evangelism. This is refreshing in a day when we hear so much about re-thinking, re-organizing, re-centering, and re-motivating missions. But the author attempts to explain the delayed coming of the Kingdom by re-interpreting the New Testament along the lines of a new apocalyptic. Here the reader may hesitate to follow.

The writer believes the world can be evangelized in this generation; but more, the world could have been evangelized in any single preceding generation; yes, even in the first generation itself. Indeed, the author holds that the outlook of Jesus, as revealed in the Gospels, was that the world ought to be evangelized under the direction of the apostles themselves. "In these two Gospels (Matt.-Mk.) there are many passages which make it clear that Christ did not look beyond His own generation, that He spoke of His coming again as imminent, and never contemplated it as delayed beyond the life-time of those to whom He spoke (p. 33).—He nowhere looks forward to the time when the apostolic work will have passed from the twelve, and He gives no instructions concerning the carrying on of the work after their day (p. 38)." Upon this thesis the book is built.

The author cites a number of references to justify his position. But too often his exegesis consists in a statement of his interpretation, preceded by such phrases, "the obvious meaning of this verse is—"; "this means beyond dispute—." This is not convincing. Obviously in such disputed portions of Scripture as Matthew 24-25 there are reasonable interpretations which do not lead to the author's conclusions.

Jesus' lack of knowledge concerning the future development of the Kingdom is explained as a special form of kenosis (Matt. 24:36). Jesus set aside his knowledge of the consummation of the Kingdom that he might walk with men in faith. "There can be no greater proof of His divine nature than just His very claim to be able to lay it aside" (p. 41). Here again readers may have difficulty.

This outlook of Jesus the author regards as prophetic (not predictive). But the fulfilment of prophecy frequently is conditioned (Isa. 1:19-20) upon complete obedience to God. Thus Jesus' prophetic hope for the evangelization of the world in His generation "would be conditioned by the response which it would meet in those to whom He committed the work of establishing the Kingdom." Jesus saw clearly all the forces arrayed in opposition; but the capacity of a renewed humanity, surrendered and obedient to God;

"the infinite resources of God available to faith in the work of establishing the Kingdom"; and the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit; "the forces then at work and still to be liberated, were altogether adequate for the establishment of that Kingdom" (pp. 49-50). But this hope historically was not realized. "The real source of failure must be sought in the gradual loss of spiritual life and power in the early church" (p. 56). The failure began with the apostles in the Jewish Christian Church, who never responded to Jesus' world-wide vision, who did not leave Jerusalem and lead out into Gentile missions. Paul's leadership in world missions came as a "second best" for the church (p. 76); the apostles had lost the divine opportunity and—it never came back again. But the opportunity to fulfil Christ's prophetic hope has been open to every generation of Christians since; only the conditions of fulfilment must be met.

Space does not permit a discussion of the problems raised by the New Testament interpretations in this book. But this brief and partial statement of the author's position may suggest some of them. Perhaps we may feel that the author leaves the fate of the Kingdom too much in the hands of men. The sovereign power of God is not shortened. He is able to raise up men sufficient for His purposes. His Will is being realized and must move unfalteringly.

The tenth chapter is perhaps the strongest in the book. Here the author speaks again as a missionary, giving his conception of the mission-task and analyzing the status of world-missions today. "The true criteria by which the missionary enterprise may be judged are now evident, namely, a personal fellowship of the disciple with Christ as close as that between Father and Son, a corporate fellowship where Christ Himself is present, and a relationship to the world and its needs which becomes effective in the believer only through the presence and power of the Holy Spirit" (p. 167). The governing conceptions of Christ's teaching should hold to-day: "the work—evangelization; the field—the world; the time—our generation".

JOHN W. VOORHIS.

**Pilgrimage to Mecca.** By Lady Evelyn Cobbold. John Murray, London. pp. 258. 10s. 6d.

The city of Mecca lies in a valley imprisoned by stony hills, and is the last word in desolation. The only reason for its existence is the Pilgrimage. In the foreword to this extraordinary volume the Arabian Minister in London says that Lady Cobbold is the first Moslem Englishwoman to perform the pilgrimage. This is not strictly speaking correct. We learn from a review of the book in *The Geographical Journal* that: "Lady Cobbold is not the first Englishwoman to visit Mecca. In the winter of 1877-78 John Fryer Keane was in the Holy City, and while there was introduced to a lady called Zaynab. Her English name was Macintosh, and she had been taken prisoner by the rebels at Lucknow twenty years before. She was forcibly married to one of her captors, who subsequently sought refuge in Mecca from the avenging hand of the Indian Government, taking her with him. The poor woman was making her slender liv-

ing by embroidering skull-caps when Keane met her, for her captor had been dead some years. She was about forty years of age, having been captured as a girl of twenty. There has been at least one other European woman at Mecca: the wife of a German convert who died there five or six years ago."

We read in the introduction that Lady Cobbold had early contact with Islam. "As a child I spent the winter months in a Moorish villa on a hill outside Algiers, where my parents went in search of sunshine. There I learned to speak Arabic, and my delight was to escape my governess and visit the Mosques with my Algerian friends, and unconsciously I was a little Moslem at heart. After three years' wintering at Mustapha Superieure, we left the villa for good, much to my despair, but in time I forgot my Arab friends, my prayers in the Mosque and even the Arabic language."

Afterward she read and studied, and one can not doubt the sincerity of her apostasy from the Catholic faith. After a visit to the Pope she writes:

"Since then I have never wavered in my belief that there is but one God; that Moses, Jesus, Muhammed and others were Prophets, divinely inspired, that to every nation God has sent an apostle, that we are not born in sin, and that we do not need any redemption, that we do not need anyone to intercede between us and God, Whom we can approach at all times, and that no one can intercede for us, not even Muhammed or Jesus, and that our salvation depends entirely on ourselves and our actions."

On her pilgrimage she enjoyed every facility, including personal friendship with Mr. St. John Philby, at whose home in Jeddah she was welcomed. She describes graphically what she saw and heard in the two sacred cities during this brief visit, arriving at Jeddah on February 22 and leaving Mecca on April 9.

One is astonished, however, at her easy-going attitude toward slavery in Arabia and the condition of womanhood in Mecca. She pictures the slaves as perfectly happy, and states that slavery and the slave trade are forbidden by the Koran. Yet in the same chapter we learn that the lovely garden of Mr. Philby "is well tended by two female slaves, one of them given him by the King, who owns some hundreds, and on great occasions such as a marriage or birth in the royal family he manumits a few according to the precept of the Koran, which does not encourage slavery."

In spite of all evidence to the contrary, in spite of the ignorance, superstition, and degradation of womanhood in Arabia and especially in Mecca, by the witness of all travellers, she writes:

"It was Islam that removed the bondage in which women were held from the very dawn of human history, and gave them a social standing and legal rights, such as were not granted them in England till many centuries later."

The book is an interesting apologetic for present day Islam in Arabia. But the author's mind was warped from the outset. In the concluding chapter she writes:

"I have brought two books with me on pilgrimage, an Arabic Koran and *Arabia Deserta*, to which I have already referred. I open the latter and try to fix my attention on the quaint Elizabethan style, which to my mind is the charm of the book, but Doughty was

too sturdy a Christian, or perhaps too bigoted, to perceive any truth in Islam, and the whole of his writing breathes such an animosity that I shut the volume, feeling it sacrilege to read it in my present surroundings. I settle myself at the shuttered window, where through the pierced carving I can look down into the empty street for a sign of Mustapha, and opening my Koran at random I am soon immersed in the beautiful *sura* 'Light.' "

Z.

**La Conversion au Christianisme de l'Indigène Musulman Algérien et ses Effets Juridiques.** By André Bonnichon, Librairie du Recueil Sirey, Paris, 1931. 154 pp.

Here is a book that is bound to be of intense interest and value to all those who deal with the problem of religious liberty in Moslem lands. To be sure, the problem is studied only as it exists under French colonial rule in North Africa; those, therefore, who live in lands where French law and colonial policy are absent will find themselves unable to make use of the leverage which such law provides and which this book suggests. Still there is so much that is suggestive for other areas that the book is well worth study not only for French territory but for all Moslem areas.

Chapter I. sketches the anomalous situations that exist under the present laws. The population of Algeria is divided into two groups: French citizens who are amenable to ordinary French law, and French subjects who comprise the great mass of the population and to whom a series of decrees dating back to 1865 have allowed the maintenance of their own civil codes. The civil codes are, for the Moslem groups Moslem law of the Hanifi and Maliki schools, and for the Kabyle population their own Kabyle codes. These laws never contemplated the emergence of Christian converts, more numerous in recent years, born in the Kabyle and Moslem circles, on whom their respective laws would obviously inflict grave injustices. It is interesting to note that provision exists for the North African to become naturalized and thus to come under French law, but the author points out the many difficulties in the way of such naturalization, the lengthy process involved and the consequent defeat of justice during the years that intervene. It is at this point that the book is of special value in showing the hopeless inadequacy of Moslem law save for a purely Moslem community, and the varied forms of injustice resulting from its application to Christian converts: loss of inheritance, loss of children, forcible marriage, etc.

Chapter II. discusses the theoretical difficulty in the clash of laws and status due to Moslem law identifying religious faith and civil status where Western law has secularized the civil status. Four questions are raised: (1) Does French legislation propose to make custom binding as it is, or to allow it an evolutionary freedom? (2) Are Moslem and Kabyle law capable of evolution? (3) Will such evolution take place naturally or only under pressure from French influence? (4) Has a real Christian custom developed as yet among the Kabyle converts?

Chapter III. discusses conflicts of laws and the scope of the Judge's authority in such cases.

Chapter IV. introduces a new guiding principle. It is that of a

"Colonial Public Order" in the interests of which it may become permissible and necessary to override existing legal provisions which seem contrary to it. Interesting cases are given of annulment of Moslem law for reasons declared moral, but in reality an application of the wider principle of colonial public policy.

The concluding chapter sums up the thesis of the author in this sentence: "It is certain that if to colonize is to contribute to another people an ideal of civilization, this involves giving them not only harbors, highways and police, but also an ideal of justice and an ideal of complete justice embracing therefore rights pertaining to family relationships."

C. R. WATSON.

**Le Deuxième Congrès Musulman Général des Femmes d'Orient à Téhéran** (Novembre-Décembre, 1932). Documentation réunie et traduction revue par Henri Massé. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris. pp. 141. 36 francs.

We are glad to call attention at this late hour to an important summary of the organization and addresses given at the Second General Congress for Moslem Women of the Orient. The reports appeared in the paper *Iran*, and the French translation is accompanied by an occasional explanatory note.

The President of the Congress in an interview stated its origin and object as follows:

"Pour commencer, l'*Association des Musulmanes* ('*Asabiyyat al Muhammadiyah*') se forma à Beyrouth, avec cinq cents personnes; elle se transforma ensuite en *Assemblée des femmes arabes* (*Majma' Nisa'i 'Arabi*); puis elle prit le nom d'*Union générale syrienne* (*Ittihad sûri 'amm*). Aujourd'hui elle est connue sous le nom de *Haute assemblée pour l'union générale des femmes d'Orient* (*Majlis 'Amm li ittihad nisa'i shargi 'amm*). Le premier Congrès se réunit à Damas. Nous sommes venues organiser le second, en accord avec le Gouvernement persan; les débats seront publiés en trois langues: arabe, persane et française; ainsi l'univers connaîtra les initiatives du Congrès. Quant aux desseins que ce Congrès se propose, ils se résument en ceci: obtenir l'égalité de l'homme et de la femme; travailler à l'ouverture de jardins d'enfants; unifier la civilisation dans les pays d'Orient; rendre nécessaire la connaissance des futurs conjoints avant le mariage; obtenir avant le mariage la certitude de leur bonne santé à tous deux; et autres questions d'intérêt général."

One is astonished to find among the delegates representatives from Japan, Australia, and China who are not Moslems, and also the importance attached to the date of meeting, namely the anniversary of the mission of Mohammed the Prophet.

"Ce Congrès, formé de toutes les femmes d'Orient, et qui, bien plus, se trouve en relation avec toutes les femmes de l'Univers, est établi (à l'anniversaire) du jour où Mohammed reçut la mission d'apporter des règles et des lois dont tous les humains profitent, et grâce à l'observance desquelles tous les habitants du monde—femmes, hommes et enfants—peuvent atteindre le plus haut degré du progrès et gagner les sommets de la félicité."

Z.

**The Jews in the Modern World.** By Arthur Rupp, Ph.D. With an Introduction by L. B. Namier. Macmillan and Company, London, 1934. pp. 423. Price, \$5.

It is of undoubted interest to all students of the present situation in Jewry, both in Palestine and Germany, where the situation is critical, as well as in other lands, to have this authoritative sociological study. Dr. Rupp has been the foremost pioneer of Jewish Sociology, and the present work is the result of studies extending over some thirty years. His first book on the subject was published in Germany in 1904, and it has passed through several editions; an English translation of it appeared in 1913 under the title *The Jews of To-day*, and it has also been translated into Hebrew and Italian.

In 1907 Dr. Rupp settled in Palestine as Director for Colonization of the Zionist Organization. In connection with this work he had to undertake journeys into various countries which brought him into close contact with all classes of Jews. Since 1926, while maintaining his connection with the colonization work in Palestine, he has lectured on Jewish sociology in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His lectures, delivered in Hebrew, were published in Berlin as a book called *Die Soziologie der Juden* (2 vols., 1930-31), and in Hebrew at Tel-Aviv (3 vols., 1931-33).

It is with such an authoritative background that the present English work appears. The various chapters deal with the racial structure of the Jews, their numbers and distribution, their migrations, birth rate, and mortality. We also have a very careful study of the economic structure of Jewry, their political ambitions, the disruptive forces, and the attempts at consolidation. The last two chapters give an account of Zionism. The estimated number of Jews, according to Dr. Rupp, is today nearly 16,000,000, and in Palestine there are one-quarter million.

The author gives all the facts, but his outlook is pessimistic. The Jewish race is facing tragic days in more than one great area.

Z.

**The Bible in China.** By Marshall Broomhall. The China Inland Mission, London, Philadelphia, Toronto, Melbourne, and Shanghai, 1934. pp. 190. Price, 2s. 6d.

This little book needs no recommendation. It tells the fascinating story of the greatest Book in the world in a country where it has the largest circulation, and where respect for printed paper is almost a religion. The annual circulation of the Scriptures in China is between 11,000,000 and 14,000,000 copies.

Beginning with the Nestorian pioneers, the author traces the footsteps of Xavier, Morrison, and his successors, and after giving a complete account of the various versions, the second part of the book tells of the colporteur's task and reward. During the T'ang Dynasty an Arab traveller, Ibn Wahab, found his way to the capital and recorded his observations in an ancient manuscript.

"The report of this Arab traveller's conversation with the Emperor, together with the references to pictures of Old Testament prophets, etc., throw much welcome light upon the knowledge possessed by the Chinese Court at that period. The Emperor pos-

essed a great box containing portraits of ancient worthies and inscriptions beneath them. Among the persons mentioned in this Arabic manuscript are Noah, Moses, and Mohammed. The whole conversation is full of interest, but one brief extract must suffice:

" 'There', said the Arab, 'is Moses with his rod, and the children of Israel.' He (the Emperor) agreed with me as to the small extent of their country and the manner in which the ancient inhabitants were destroyed by Moses. I then said to Him: 'There is Jesus upon an ass, and here are His apostles with him'. 'He', said the Emperor, 'was not long on earth, seeing that all He did was transacted within the space of somewhat better than thirty months.' "

Z.

**Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs.** By Prince P. H. Mamour. Luzac and Co., London, 1934. pp. 230.

This is a very interesting and ingenious attempt to prove the genuineness of the descent of the Fāṭimid caliphs from 'Ali and Fāṭimah, a problem which for the last nine hundred years has exercised medieval and modern historians. The author's argument, as gathered by the reviewer, runs as follows: No dispute regarding the claim of descent arose until A. D. 1011, when the 'Abbāsīd Caliph issued a manifesto declaring that his Fāṭimid rival was a descendant not of Fāṭimah but of a Persian heretic. That was one full century after 'Ubaydullāh had established the Fāṭimid dynasty. 'Ubaydullāh, according to anti-Fāṭimid historians, was a descendant of Maymūn al-Qaddāh, an oculist who hailed from Persia, but according to pro-Fāṭimid writers a descendant of the Imām Muḥammad al-Maktūm, son of Ismā'il and grandson of Ja'far al-Sādiq. This Maymūn, according to Mamour, was none other than Muḥammad al-Maktūm. Al-Maktūm (the concealed) had gone into concealment about A. D. 765 in order to escape 'Abbāsīd persecution and while in Persia became an eye-specialist and assumed a different name. It was he who started the movement that resulted in the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate.

The weak link in the chain, as the reviewer sees it, is the identification of Maymūn with al-Maktūm. No historian has ever done that before. The evidence adduced by the author is all circumstantial and suggestive, even clever, but not conclusive. Why did not any of the Fāṭimid caliphs, or any of their supporters and followers, come out with this identification while the 'Abbāsīds and their historians were calling them impostors, charlatans and enemies of Islam?

The work is based mainly on Arabic sources in translation and on Orientalists' works. Hence the confusion in the transliteration of proper names. It is provided with an Index.

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PHILIP K. HITTI.

**A History of Religion.** By Herbert H. Gowen, D.D., F.R.A.S. The Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee. pp. 698. \$3.50.

The author is Professor of Oriental studies in the University of Washington and an Honorable Fellow of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. The title of the book indicates its character. It is not a history of religions, but a history of religion.

"Those who write histories of *Religions* are describing a tree by its separate branches, but ignoring the trunk in which all the branches find their origin and their unity. To describe Religions by devoting a few pages to the lives of their several founders, followed by an account of their several tenets, and a sketch of their several careers in history, is to forget the larger fact. The larger part of a religion lies far back of the biography of any founder—other, of course, than of that Divine Spirit which is the source of creation itself."

The author believes that religion is fundamentally one, the continuous historic expression of man's common need and hope and aspiration. This does not mean, however, that he confounds the Christian religion with other religions. His standpoint is scholarly but charitable. In the introduction we read:

"I wish to confess here and now that the present volume is conceived unashamedly from the Christian point of view"; "we must be careful lest in smiting at the religion of primitive people we smite where God has left some witness to Himself"; "having . . . made clear my way of approach . . . let me from henceforth sink the theologian in the historian."

The volume is divided into five books dealing respectively with: the principles of primitive religion, the primitive religions themselves, the state religions of antiquity, the religions of the Orient, and Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. The last book occupies over 200 pages and is the most satisfactory in its treatment. In dealing with primitive religion the author accepts the evolutionary hypothesis and rejects the theory of primitive monotheism. He has not given due weight, in our opinion, to the evidence compiled recently by Schmidt, LeRoy, and others. To refer the origin of sacrifice to imitative magic is to confess ignorance of such recent studies on the subject as E. C. James' *Origins of Sacrifice*. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, this book is one of the best manuals on the history of religion, especially on the great ethnic faiths.

The chapter on Islam is inadequate. It is impossible for any author to deal with such a subject in 32 pages. There are many mistakes, e. g., the creed does not consist of five articles, but of six. The chapters of the Koran are not all of them "preceded by mysterious letters," etc. Although there are numerous footnotes, the volume might be better documented, and it contains no bibliography. Z.

**Johnson of Nyasaland.** A study of the Life and Work of William Percival Johnson, D.D., Archdeacon of Nyasa, Missionary Pioneer, 1876-1928. Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Central Africa House, London, 1933. pp. 258. Price, 4/-.

This book is what it professes to be, a biography and not a eulogy. Archdeacon Johnson is not painted, but revealed. One sometimes feels that perhaps there should be more panegyric and less mention of some evident faults of the man, but the author keeps clear of this pitfall and contents himself with a mosaic built up of solid fact. It is this definiteness of detail and of time and place that is outstanding. The book opens with three pages of "Principal Dates" which sum up the facts of Johnson's life. Besides this there is the continual use of dates, along with innumerable terse

marginal headings, which make for clearness, and always aid the reader in keeping the chronology in order.

Archdeacon Johnson was a Saint. "The man was far greater than anything he did or than the sum of his recorded achievements" (page 208). Hence, one reads this book not as a handbook on method or policy, but to be inspired by a great personality. He was a pioneer in Nyasa, and as we follow him through those difficult years as he met and solved his problems, in his relations to the African, to his fellow missionaries, to his Bishop, or the home constituency we meet much from which we may be instructed. But Archdeacon Johnson was also a pioneer in sainthood, and it is his close walk with God which the reader soon follows with greatest interest.

This book is a highly worthwhile addition to the library of missionary biography.

JOSEPH D. GRABER.

**A Year's Embassy to Mustafa Kemal.** By Charles H. Sherrill. Charles Scribner Sons, New York. pp. 277. \$3.

The subject of this interesting and in a sense authoritative book is fortunate in his biographers. His star is still in the ascendant, and time has not cast heavy shadows on the contemporary portrait of the liberator and national hero who has succeeded in winning international approval, at least in the west, for his progressive program. General Sherrill was U. S. ambassador to the Turkish Republic during the latter part of President Hoover's administration. He has had a long career as diplomat and author and has travelled widely. Whether, however, he has sufficient insight regarding the background of all the Near East, namely the intellectual and spiritual heritage of Christianity and Islam, the reader may doubt. The volume is a noble tribute to a gallant soldier-of-fortune who became dictator of a new nation by circumstances not wholly of his own making. One can pardon superlatives, but not the inaccuracies into which the author occasionally slips, e. g., "The Eastern or Orthodox Church always remained under State control"; "The French and English landed a powerful joint army on the Hellespont or inner side of the Gallipoli Peninsula, April 24, 1915"; etc. The book contains five diagrams in color by President Kemal and has an appendix on the principal buildings of Stamboul.

Z.

**Through Jade Gate and Central Asia.** By Mildred Cable & Francesca French. Constable & Co., London. pp. 306. 3/6- net.

This is a cheaper reprint of the book published in 1927. Few men travellers and no women have gone up and down these Central Asian caravan routes. These three adventurous women have travelled strange and difficult roads in a country little known to the tourist. They did it in the interest of the Kingdom of Christ; incidentally carrying good will and a better understanding, helping the people up the steep ladder of wholesome living. These women were ably backed up by Chinese Christians and non-Christians in their adventurous journeys. They came in contact with Moslems—who are

described as a vigorous race of men, but feared by the local people, because of their aggressive seizing of produce and animals; and they usually requite by violence any offence. The Moslems hold many important government positions. Buddhist Temples abound everywhere, and there are also traces on the frescos in the temples of Nestorian influences.

Many people responded to the efforts of this preaching band of Chinese and foreigners. This story is an epic of dauntless courage, heroic endurance, and absorbing passion.

A. E. Z.

**The Gouran Versified.** By Nejmi Sagib Bodamialisade, the Saviour promised by God, the versifier of the Gouran, the grace of Divine justice, the defender of the martyrs. First Part. All rights reserved. Shakespeare School, Nicosia, Cyprus British. 3s.

The title page indicates the bizarre character of this apparently honest effort to commend the Koran to English readers. We quote from the Foreword: "The Sacred Poems published in this Book are but a part of my Versified Gouran which, when completely published, will occupy about two thousand pages. I intend to publish this Sacred Work gradually, and I do hereby request the active support of all the Moslems of the world, and of all the Friends of Truth in every part of the world, of whatever nationality, creed and birth. Although in this First Part only twenty-three pages of the text of The Versified Gouran are published, they are quite sufficient to achieve the first purpose by which I am guided; that is, to prove by internal evidence, by its superhuman literary merits, that The Koran is nothing but the Word of God." The doggerel that follows is really not worth the pains of author and printer.

Z.

**Extremes Meet: Some facts about India's Women.** By Lilian A. Underhill. The Highway Press, London, 1934. pp. 31. Price, 6d.

The female population of India amounts to 170,000,000, of which 38,000,000 are Moslems. The author points out the extremes that meet in Indian womanhood. Although eighty-seven per cent. of the population is rural, there is the problem of woman in industry. Some are actually working in coal mines, others in the factories. The great proportion of India's women are orthodox and therefore bound by the ceremonial law of *pardah*.

"The imprisonment for life behind the bolts and bars of social custom which goes by the name of *pardah* has resulted from Islam, and has been widely adopted by Hindu India. It is not commonly practised in the South, but in the North it is universal, though in varying degree. Of Moslem origin, it dates from the Moslem invasions of India some seven or eight centuries ago, and was found to be necessary at that time for the protection of women, but *today* at least forty million women still live in strict seclusion behind the *pardah*."

The frightful increase in child marriage, we are told has been proportionately as great among Moslems as among Hindus since the Sarda Act. In all India there are today only six hundred qualified women doctors.

Z.

**Egypt Since Cromer.** By Lord Lloyd. Volume I. Macmillan and Co., 1933. vii+390 pp. \$5.50.

Lord Lloyd's "Egypt Since Cromer" maintains the high standard set by Lord Cromer in his "Modern Egypt." Like Cromer he is animated by a "deep faith in the imperial destiny of his country, and in her capacity to benefit mankind" (p. 5) and throughout his twenty-three chapters he judges the policies, the personalities, and the accomplishments of Britain's representatives in Egypt in the light of these ideals. Four introductory chapters discuss the capitulations, the beginnings of Egyptian nationalism, and the economic and political foundations laid by Cromer. Three chapters are then devoted to Sir Eldon Gorst and the experiment in local self-government. A chapter on the Sudan between 1904 and 1908 is followed by four on Kitchener's administration. The war period and its consequences for Egypt are treated in seven chapters, which lead up to the crisis of 1919 and its issue—*independence*. After a chapter bringing the history of the Sudan up to the same date, comes a discussion of the strength and weakness of the British position in Egypt and a final "Retrospect" which presents the author's matured conclusions. Appendices containing important documents, excellent maps of Egypt and the Sudan, and an index complete the work.

Lord Lloyd is an imperialist; his point of view is clear, and the reader can make any necessary allowances. An imperialist who is so candid and so honestly striving to practice the faith which is in him must be given at least a hearing. He never forgets that his is a sequel to Cromer's work and writes as though expecting Cromer to read—and approve. His point of view one may criticize, but his book presents the best available account of Egypt since Cromer's retirement.

The final "Retrospect" summarizes Lord Lloyd's opinions. Of the preceding chapters he writes: "I am forced to admit that they paint upon the whole a very somber picture of later British policy in Egypt. If I could have avoided this I should have done so with relief. I have endeavored throughout to set down the facts, and the facts have been too much for me" (p. 357). "Our whole policy, in Egypt, in India, in all our dependencies—although too often stated with distressing vagueness—was fundamentally clear. We had undertaken—drifted into, or deliberately acquired—one fundamental responsibility, the welfare of the masses of the people. We envisioned one ultimate goal, the political development of each country to a pitch where her own people could be trusted to take over that responsibility and discharge it fairly." (pp. 357-8). "It is, I think, a just view that the clash between the two ideals of benevolent administration and the development of autonomy has been the cause of many of our difficulties." (p. 361). "We conceded independence to Egypt, but . . . in so doing, we threw off our fundamental responsibility, namely the duty of safeguarding the welfare of the people, and with that we clearly discarded once for all every justification for our colonial rule which could possibly be brought in our favor." (p. 359).

Such is the quality of Lord Lloyd's work that his second volume is awaited with impatience by all who have an interest in Egypt—or in history of a high order.

*Princeton University*

W. L. WRIGHT, JR.

**The Qurān Primer.** By Muhammed Manzur Ilahi. Published by Dar-ul-Kutub Islamia, Ahmadiyya Buildings, Lahore, India. Price, annas 4, or 6d.

This little book is evidence of the constant activity of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam Movement at Lahore. The Arabic text is clearly printed, but the transliteration leaves much to be desired.

For beginners, however, the book will prove useful. We are promised other manuals containing every word of the Koran in Romanized spelling. Z.

**Mubtala or A Tale of two Wives.** An Oriental novel, illustrating the different phases of Musulman life in India. Translated and abridged from the original Urdu of Shamsul-Ulema Mowlawi Hafiz Nafir Ahmed Khan Bahadur, LL.D., of Delhi, by Khan Sahib Khaja Khan, B.A. Printed by The Hogarth Press, Madras, 1934. pp. 87. Price Re. 1.

The full title of this interesting story might be considered a sufficient introduction. The printers have summed up the whole argument in a quotation from the Koran placed at the head of the title page: "Allah has not made for any man two hearts within him." —(Sūratu'l-Aḥzāb xxxiii:4).

We congratulate the author and also the translator for making this plea on behalf of Moslem womanhood in India available to English readers. The book is dedicated as a token of affection to the Rev. Canon M. G. Goldsmith by the translator, who was one of his former pupils.

The curtain is lifted on all that goes on behind the *purdah* in a household broken up by jealousy, intrigue, and attempted murder. Z.

**Islamica:** Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen, der Geschichte und der Kulturen der Islamischen Völker. By A. Fischer und E. Bräunlich. Heft 3. Verlag Asia Major G.M.B.H., Leipzig, 1934. pp. 267-348.

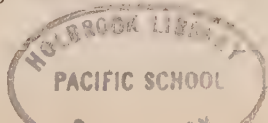
We note this number as containing material of special interest to our readers. Charlotte Steinbrucker has an interesting account of Persian and Indian miniatures in the Berlin Museum. Some of these show Christian influences on early Moslem art. Otto Spies gives a fragment of the "Kitāb as-Sabr wa'r-Ridā des al-Hārit al-Muhāsibī," and Otto Pretzl concludes his long account on the science of Koran reading. There are shorter articles and one book review. The editor, Dr. A. Fischer, returns once more to a pamphlet by Joseph Schacht written in reply to a devastating criticism of the former's *Islam-Lesebuch*. Z.

**Zu meinem Islam-Lesebuch:** (Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch Heft 16). By Joseph Schacht. Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen. pp. 27.

This pamphlet is a reply to the severe criticisms made by Dr. A. Fischer. The controversy was noted in an earlier issue of our *Quarterly*. Z.

**An Eastern Chequerboard.** By Sir Harry Luke. Lovat Dickson, Ltd., London. Illustrated. pp. 291. 12/6 net.

It is thirty years since Sir Harry Luke, now Lieutenant Governor of Malta, first travelled in the Near East, and in the



course of these thirty years spent in the diplomatic service, he has come to know intimately many parts of the Ottoman Empire and its adjacent territories. *An Eastern Chequerboard* is the fruit of those years of contact with the Near East. For the ordinary reader the style is fascinating and the contents deeply interesting. Whether the writer describes monasteries, derwishes, or Turkish customs he brings learning into play. His wide knowledge of oriental history and his excellent style, together with more than fifty illustrations, make the book attractive. The number of Baha'is, given on page 71 as two million, is evidently an exaggeration. Z.

**Hesperis.** Archives Berberes et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines. Librairie Larose, Paris.

The last number of this quarterly review (xvii:4) on Morocco, contains two interesting articles, the first by Prosper Ricard on artistic book binding, especially of the Koran, in Morocco during the thirteenth century. The article is illustrated by eight large plates showing the style of the Almohade binders.

The second article deals with the rites of Azemmour, and is written by Charles LeCoeur. It gives a detailed account of the customs at birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the tribes in Morocco. It is interesting to note that primitive tribal customs have mingled with Mohammedan practice so that even the *Aqiqa* ceremony is scarcely recognizable.

In addition to these articles there is a bibliography of works and articles on Morocco, which have appeared since 1931 to the number of 1,121. Z.

**Kitāb al-Awrāk.** By Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yahya as-Sūlī. Edited by J. Heyworth Dunne, of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London. Luzac & Co., London. pp. 256.

This is the Arabic text of the rather famous book of as-Sulī, printed from a manuscript in Cairo. The author died in 946 A. D., was a descendant of a Turkish prince, and lived at the court of the caliphs in Baghdad. He was celebrated as a chess player, but lost favor at court and had to flee from Baghdad to Basra, where he was in hiding.

As a poet and historian this is his chief work. For further reference see Brockelmann, vol. i, p. 143. The book is well edited and the Arabic text is printed in Cairo. But there is not even an English introduction. Z.

**The new Turkish.** An elementary grammar, vocabulary, and phrase book of the Turkish language in the new latin characters. By A. C. Mowle, M.A. Revised Edition. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Ltd., London, 1934. pp. 89. Price, 3s. 6d.

The reform of the Turkish script in 1928 has revolutionized the Turkish language and made it easier for foreigners. The present manual provides a concise and systematic introduction. It is well arranged, although we miss a general vocabulary and an index. The number of Turkish words of Arabic origin is surprising. In a vocabulary on family relationships, out of 48 words, 14 are Arabic. Z.

**Modern Religious Cults and Society.** A Sociological Interpretation of a Modern Religious Phenomenon. By Louis Richard Binder, Th.M., Ph.D. Richard G. Badger. The Gorham Press, Boston, 1933. pp. 213. \$2.

There have been other books in recent years dealing with this subject. The one best known is by Ferguson, entitled "The Confusion of Tongues." Professor Gaius Atkins of Auburn Seminary and J. K. Van Baalen have also written on the subject. This book, however, does not treat of the cults separately, but deals with eighteen or twenty of the more important ones in an analytical and interpretative manner. Dr. Binder does not clearly distinguish between cults and sects. He defines a religious cult as "the lengthened shadow of denominationalism." This is hardly distinctive.

His treatment, however, is thorough and scientific. After dealing with the background of the various religious cults as a phenomenon of American Christianity, he takes up three questions: first, the cults and social adjustment; second, the cults and telic progress; and lastly, the cults in their personal interest, closing with an appraisal. The chapter on the pathological aspects of the cults is especially good. The book contains an excellent bibliography, but the index should have included a list of the cults treated. Altogether we can heartily recommend the book. Z.

**Al-Usūl al-‘Arabiyyah li-Ta’rikh Sūriyyah fi ‘Ahd Muḥammad ‘Alī Pasha.** Edited by Asad Rustum. Vol. III-IV. American Press, Beirut, 1934. pp. 278.

This is a collection of political papers for the years A.H. 1251-1255 (April 29, 1835—March 5, 1840). Like the collections published before and noted in this Review, these papers throw a flood of light not only upon the political situation in Syria but upon the social and economic life as well. The Editor, professor of history at the American University of Beirut, is doing an excellent piece of research work. One striking feature is the poor grade of Arabic used by government and consular officials.

*Princeton University*

PHILIP K. HITTI.

**The White Monk of Timbuctoo.** By William Seabrook. Harcourt, Brace, and Company. \$3.

The author has written a number of readable books about his strange experiences in out of the way places and has a flair for the fantastic. In this biographical account of the spiritual and immoral experiences of a former "White Father" he has been more than frank. In a few places his choice of language is even coarse. The underlying background of the account is of interest in its portrayal of the conflict of three creeds for the domination of the country and the souls of its inhabitants.

R. L. Z.

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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### I. GENERAL

THE ADVANCE ON ANGORA AND THE BATTLE FOR WARSAW: A Parallel in Military History. Eugene Hinterhoff. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1934. pp. 652-680).

Detailed account, with maps, of Kemal Pasha's campaign against the Greeks in Asia Minor, 1919-1922, compared with Polish operations against the Bolsheviks.

ISLAMISCHE QUELLEN ZUM CHINESISCHEN PORZELLAN. Paul Kahle. (In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig. Band 13, Heft 1, 1934. pp. 1-45).

So little is to be found in Chinese sources on the history of Chinese porcelain that the early Moslem references to it are rendered all the more weighty; and they date from 751 A. D.

LYAUTEY ET LE MÉDICIN. Dr. Colombani. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Août, 1934. pp. 468-475).

The Honorary Director of Public Health and Hygiene of Morocco traces the spread of that country's medical system which had its foundations laid by the great marshal.

THE PROPOSED HAIFA-BAGHDAD RAILWAY. E. H. Keeling. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1934. pp. 373-393).

A lecture and discussion of the political and financial aspects of the undertaking, with an account of other railroads in the same region.

TURKISH RACIAL THEORIES. Major F. F. Rynd. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1934. pp. 476-487).

Translation from the Turkish World History, now the official textbook in Turkish schools. It claims that civilization began among the Turks of Central Asia; and, being on a non-religious basis, makes no reference to Islam.

## II. ARABIA

THE DESERT CHANGES. Hans Kohn. (In *Asia*, New York. November, 1934. pp. 659-663).

The past twenty years have brought to the Bedouins the mechanical and technical gains of western civilization; at the same time the foundations of desert life have been destroyed and they must be rebuilt on a new and better basis.

## III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

L'IRAK ET L'UNITÉ ISLAMIQUE. Marcel Gillet. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Juillet-Août, 1934. pp. 248-253).

Despite numerous opportunities to show themselves first Moslems and then Irakians, the Iraqi have steadily displayed a strong nationalist tendency which reconciles even Shiites and Sunnites.

L'ISLAM AUX INDES. Victor Courtois. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Juillet-Août, 1934. pp. 259-264).

Outlines the fluctuations of Mohammedanism in India and finds the gain of 9,000,000 in the last ten years proof of the vitality of the culte.

L'ISLAM DANS L'EST AFRICAÏN. N. Walta. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Mai-Juin, 1934. pp. 166-171).

A quarter of the natives of Tanganyika profess Islam, but do so largely to avoid being called "savages".

L'ISLAM EN ASIE RUSSE. Paul Catrice. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Juillet-Août, 1934. pp. 254-258).

Grave and disquieting problems have arisen because of the spread of atheism and industrialism.

MODERN TURKEY AND ISLAM. Dr. Otto Spies. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. August, 1934. pp. 272-287).

It should not be asserted that the Turks are anti-Islamic. They are developing the nationalist idea, and therefore put Turkey before Islam.

## IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY.

UNE RELIGION DU LIVRE. Robert Chidiac. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Mai-Juin, 1934. pp. 147-155; Juillet-Août, 1934. pp. 239-244).

Discusses the claims of the Koran and its absolute authority; and implies that Islam needs a Caliph as Catholicism needs a Pope to assure religious unity.

## V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

LES ARTS DÉCORATIFS INDIGÈNES EN ALGERIE. Mme. Bel. (In *Outre-Mer*, Paris. Mars, 1934. pp. 68-91).

European imports have destroyed many of the native arts and crafts, but schools are now encouraging a renaissance and are bringing back traditional designs and trades.

THE CHANGING EAST: The New Man. Hans Kohn. (In *World Unity*, New York. October, 1934. pp. 10-14).

Youth in the East, as elsewhere, is seeking for friendship and cooperation with the youth of other lands.

LES MUSULMANS DANS LES SYNDICATS CHRÉTIEN. Jules Declercq. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Juillet-Août, 1934. pp. 245-247).

In Algiers the European influence in trade unions works to the disadvantage of the native born members.

UNE SECTE ÉNIGMATIQUE. J.-Emile Janot. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Juillet-Août, 1934. pp. 221-238).

Discusses the religious beliefs and observances of the Alaouites.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE AFGHAN REVOLT AND AFTER. Ikbāl Ali Shah. (In *Asia*, New York. September, 1934. pp. 564-567).

Although the Afghans foolishly assassinated their wise ruler, Nadir Shah, there is no indication that they wish to return to the regime of Amanullah.

ÉGYPTE 1933—REVOLUTION OU PROTECTORAT? André Valtry. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Juin, 1934. pp. 327-331).

Clear outline of the position of Egypt in foreign relations, suggesting a fear of complete absorption by the British government.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE RACE PROBLEM IN PALESTINE. Elizabeth P. MacCallum. (In *Foreign Policy Reports*, New York. August 29, 1934. whole number).

Thorough survey of the situation with extracts from the Shaw, Hope Simpson and French reports, from the Passfield White Paper, and from various statements by the British government.

L'INQUIÉTUDE NORD-AFRICAINE. Louis Jalabert. (In *Études*, Paris. 20 Août 1934. pp. 433-448; 5 Septembre 1934. pp. 625-637; 20 Septembre 1934. pp. 758-767).

Marshal Lyautey said à propos of Morocco, "Do not send us only administrative formulas and machines. Send us souls!" To-day French officials are accused of lack of consideration for the natives and much anti-French propaganda circulates.

THE OPERATIONS IN THE YEMEN. K. S. Twitchell. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1934. pp. 445-449).

Tells of the condition of Asir and of its dealings first with the Imam Yahya and later with Ibn Sa'oud.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

L'ACTION DES INFIRMIÈRES EN PAYS MUSULMAN. Soeur Jeanne-Marie Declercq. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Mai-Juin, 1934. pp. 156-165).

Describes methods and results of work carried on by a group of nurses at Rivet, Algeria.

UNE CAPITALE MISSIONNAIRE DU LEVANT. Georges Goyau. (In *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, Paris. Juin, 1934. pp. 161-186).

Brief account of Aleppo, followed by a history of the missions started there by Capucins, Carmelites and Jesuits.

LA MISSION PARMI L'ISLAM DANS L'ILE DE JAVA. Jacques Bruno. (In *Études Missionnaires*, Paris. Juillet-Septembre, 1934. pp. 188-198).

Difficulties of language and the persecution of converts render evangelistic work discouraging but far from hopeless.

MOSLEM WOMEN PATIENTS IN EGYPT. Charlotte A. Stuart. (In *Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society Quarterly Paper*, Edinburgh. August, 1934. pp. 344-347).

Rich and poor alike welcome the ministrations of the mission hospitals and learn there to value truth.

LA PRESQU' ILE MALAISE, TERRE D'ISLAM. Lois Riboud. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Mai-Juin, 1934. pp. 172-175).

Tells of Malacca, where strong heathen or Moslem influences still obtain, despite the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church.

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